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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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International Affairs

Clinton Administration Probable Stance Viewed

93AS0266B Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 24 Nov 92
p 5

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Expectations From Newly-Elected American Leadership"]

[Text] Pakistan is trying very hard to make sure that, with the changing political scene in the United States of America, the newly elected U.S. Government reviews the situation in Pakistan in light of the new international and regional political developments, and that the coolness that has developed between the two nations because of some misunderstanding is removed through talks and understanding. With this in mind, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan recently met with two U.S. senators, Paul Simon and Howard Metzenbaum. He is emphasizing that the United States of America should try to understand the dangers Pakistan is facing. The president also expressed his hope to the new U.S. Government that it will try to understand how important the Kashmir issue is. He also assured them that in spite of the present state of relations, Pakistan wants to establish strong relations with the United States of America.

In our opinion, a country like the United States of America does not need to understand the Kashmir issue from the very beginning, because this country has always considered every resolution passed in the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations to be solid and important. The only difference between the past and now is that the United States did consider Pakistan its friend. However, after the Afghanistan issue was taken care of in the Geneva agreement and Russia's position in the world was minimized, President Bush and his administration changed their view of the situation in South Asia. In this situation, Pakistan expects from the newly elected U.S. Government that the United States will not compromise its principles just for its vested interests. If the United States wants to maintain peace in South Asia after the end of the cold war and not allow the start of a nuclear weapons race in the region, it should know that Pakistan can play a much more important role in this context. Pakistan desires to resolve the Kashmir issue according to UN resolutions. It wants to remove the biggest reason for the tension in South Asia. Pakistan is most active in making sure that South Asia is clean of all kinds of nuclear weapons.

U.S. Said Threatening Nation Over Martial Law

93AS0306C Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 27 Nov 92
p 5

[Editorial: "New American Threat, If Martial Law Is Imposed"]

[Text] There is concern being expressed in the United States as well over the fact that the confrontation

between the government and the opposition has reached a stage that endangers the future of democracy in Pakistan. Embassy sources have also made it clear that although the army is helping the civilian government, the United States has been assured at the highest levels that the situation will not be allowed to get out of control. Nevertheless, if a martial law situation were to arise in Pakistan, the U.S. administration would be forced to abide by the law of the country and impose sanctions against Pakistan; such sanctions could even go so far as to end all aid to Pakistan by Western countries and international monetary agencies. Obviously, the failure of political action increases the danger of martial law; our country's political history shows that whenever political matters are brought into the streets, the ensuing result is the imposition of martial law. It is a good sign that our present military leadership has repeatedly reassured the nation that the army will help in every possible way to keep the political process alive, and the army's actions so far show that it has kept its promise. In order to protect democratic institutions, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has never refused to talk with the opposition, and he has at present indicated that, after the dust of the long march has died down, the government would be willing to discuss all political issues.

Nevertheless, it is a matter of concern to every pro-democracy observer that the opposition's movement is busy pushing the day-to-day situation to the juncture where anything could happen. A similar concern is being expressed in the United States, and the United States has even given a clear warning that if the deteriorating situation should bring about martial law, the United States would be forced to impose a total embargo on every kind of aid to Pakistan. If the opposition leadership possesses even the smallest scintilla of patriotism and regard for democracy, it should end this drama of unrest in the country. But it appears that Benazir Bhutto and her followers are obsessively marching ahead on the path of the country's destruction with closed eyes. Ironically, Benazir Bhutto has told the prime minister that it is up to him whether martial law is imposed or not. This is inverted logic; Benazir has chosen a path, which in the past has repeatedly taken the country to martial law. Now that her long march on this path has raised the possibility of danger, she is shifting the responsibility for the imposition of martial law on to the prime minister's shoulders. This is a terrible attempt to distort facts; but international observers are not so blind as to be unable to analyse Pakistan's real situation. The nation should now demand that Benazir answer the question: If the goal of her long march is not martial law, then what is it. How will she be able to escape responsibility for the suffering that martial law will bring upon the country and the nation?

U.S. Seen Using GATT To Enforce Domestic Priorities

93AS0263I Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 28 Nov 92 pp 10-11

[Article by Shireen M. Mazari: "Moulding International Trade to Western Dictates"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] With much ado it was announced last week what the United States and the European Community (EC) had come to an agreement over farm trade and thus had laid the way for the conclusion of the Uruguay round of trade talks within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). It had been this conflict between the European and the Americans that had prevented a conclusion of the Uruguay round, begun in late 1986. Since the GATT dictates the framework and course of international trade, the impasse in the Uruguay round was seen as being responsible for preventing the anticipated \$200 billion increase in yearly world trade that had been expected at the conclusion of such an agreement.

Thus, the agreement on the EC's subsidised oilseed production and on a broader farm subsidy package should now ostensibly allow for a greater trade liberalisation on a whole range of goods and services. Although the French have initially rejected the EC, U.S. accord on farm subsidies, how far the French can actually alter the situation remains to be seen, especially with other important EC countries like Germany and the United Kingdom supporting the accord.

The end of the GATT Uruguay round impasse, of course, should be good news for all concerned—at least on the surface. There are a few more formalities to be completed, including the drafting of the final agreement of the round as a whole, and there is the problem of completing all formalities before the U.S. Congressional authority to the President—which is what enables him to negotiate at the multilateral talks—runs out in March 1993. For the rest of the world, which has had to wait on the sidelines while the United States played out its politico-economic power game with the increasingly powerful economic entity, that is the EC, the end of the Uruguay round, no doubt, spell some relief. At least, the future course of world trade can have an operational framework.

However, for the developing states, the issue is not so simple. It is only too easy to be fooled with the rhetoric and Western propaganda relating to the benefits of the GATT. In reality, the GATT has itself become a framework for stifling trade liberalisation and encouraging "managed" trade. The developed world has utilised the GATT framework to maintain its economic advantages in the trade issue-area just as it has used the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] structures to dictate international financial arrangements. In all this, the role of the United States has been to maintain its hegemonic position where it can, and to accommodate challenges to its predominance, where it faces no choice. Over the years, the GATT has exemplified how the United States has attempted to maintain its global economic predominance in the post-1945 system.

Originally, the international community sought to create a comprehensive international trade organisation (ITO) under the Havana Charter, but the U.S. Congress made

clear its antipathy to any such economically intrusive international organisation. Instead, the GATT, which was initially envisaged as a temporary tariff reductions treaty, became the sole framework for directing international trade once the ITO was finally abandoned. So, right from the start, the GATT ignored provisions for economic development, commodity agreements and restrictive business practices.

Since then, there has been a consistent conflict of approach between the developing and developed states, with the former calling for a more comprehensive framework to deal with the international economy as a whole, and the latter opting to stick by the narrower confines of the GATT and delinking trade from international money and finance arrangements. The alternative effort by the developing states, the UNCTAD [United Nations Conference on Trade Development], failed to provide any concrete and substantive framework to negate the dictates of the GATT. Instead, over the years, the West allowed UNCTAD to divert the attention of the developing states and reduced the UNCTAD forum into an arena for verbal debate and diatribes—while the developed world utilised the GATT framework to increase their global trading advantages.

Whenever the West allowed the developing world some concession within the GATT, it was more in terms of form than substance. For instance, in 1958, a GATT experts report—the Haberler Report—led to the GATT initiating a trade expansion programme by setting up various committees, including the one to deal with the problems arising in agricultural trade and the one to look into the issue of expanding the export earnings of the developing states. Yet nothing substantive came out of this exercise and when the Kennedy round of GATT trade negotiations (1963-1967) concluded, the major tariff reductions were in the field of manufacturing that required high concentration of capital and technology. Agricultural products, on the other hand, continued to be excluded—at the behest of the U.S. and its powerful farm lobby—and in the case of textiles, fuels and tropical products, the level of the cuts and the range of items was far below the average.

In fact, the textile trade had already been subject to global management since 1961, when the Short-Term Arrangement (STA) on cotton textiles came into being within the GATT framework. Since then, each successive textile arrangement—the Multi-Fibre Agreements—has been more restrictive than its predecessor.

The textile trade shows how the GATT has attempted to preserve the dominance of the United States and its allies in the field of trade—even at the cost of increasingly accepting restrictive trade practices such as Voluntary Export Restraints (VERs) and Orderly Marketing Arrangements (OMAs). Meanwhile, chapter IV of the GATT, dealing with trade and development and adopted in 1965, has remained meaningless except in terms of verbiage.

The seventies were the only period when the GATT was a little more receptive to the demands of the developing world—purely as a result of the power of OPEC and the support it lent to the cause of the developing world's demand for a new international economic order (NIEO). Thus one found the Tokyo round of GATT negotiations (1973-1979) giving a little more leeway to the needs of the developing world. This was reflected in the provision of the "enabling clause" added to the GATT, which would allow members to accord differential and favourable treatment to the developing states. However, this was not made obligatory and the Tokyo round of negotiations did little to deal with increasing efforts by states to manage international trade through VERs and OMAs. Nor were tropical products given more than a one-tenth reduction in Most Favoured Nation (MFN) rates despite a commitment by member states to accord this sector priority. In contrast, manufactured goods of interest to the developed world saw an average reduction of 33-41 percent.

As the power of OPEC dissipated and the unity of the developing world became increasingly more strained in international fora, the eighties saw a reassertion of the Western agenda for seeking further shifts in global trade structures to accommodate their changing economic demands. By the time, the Uruguay round of GATT trade negotiations were initiated—in September 1986—the developed world's focus had shifted from the manufacturing sector to the service sector. As for the United States, its powerful agricultural lobby was now demanding measures to compel the EEC [European Economic Community] to reduce its farm subsidies and enable American agricultural produce access to external market.

Hence, the attempt to expand the framework of the GATT to include trade in services and agriculture. The United States, right at the start of the Uruguay round, threatened to walk out of the talks if services were not included on the agenda, despite the fact that, as India and Brazil pointed out, services could not be discussed within the GATT whose rules cover only trade in goods. In the end, the bully-boy tactics of the United States worked and the developing states also failed to get the developed world to accept the movement of peoples as part of the service trade.

Unfortunately, for the United States it was less easy to deal with the EC over farm subsidies. For over six years, as these two economic giants have wrangled over this issue, the developing world has been shown its irrelevance in framing international economic structures. All the developing world can do is to watch with sheer helplessness and follow the trading dictates of the developed world. The only way out would be to demand a total restructuring of the international economic system, but such a demand needs bargaining strength and alteration in the economic structures within the developing states. Otherwise, these states will continue to find themselves subjected to the economic whims of the

developed world, just as they are being subject to the political dictates of America's 'New World Order.'

U.S. Said Spreading 'Propaganda' on Nuclear Capabilities

93AS0314C Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 6 Dec 92 p 1

[Article by Sikander Hayat: "US Behind West's Propaganda Against Pak N-Programme"]

[Text] Islamabad—Pakistan Foreign Office believes that the current upsurge in the Western media propaganda against Pakistan's nuclear programme is U.S. inspired and is aimed at sabotaging Nawaz Sharif's forthcoming visit to Japan.

This was disclosed on Saturday by a Foreign Office source who did not want to be identified. He was asked official reaction to the report from Los Angeles that China recently exported nuclear-capable missiles to Pakistan.

Meanwhile, the governments of Pakistan and China have established contact on this fabricated report and are expected to issue contradiction statements shortly, it was further learnt.

The source said as the date of the prime minister's visit to Japan draws closer the hostile propaganda has intensified. Nawaz Sharif is scheduled to undertake an official visit to Japan from December 16.

Early last year his visit to Japan had to be put off due to internal turmoil culminating in a massacre at Islampura in Lahore on the eve of his visit. The eleventh hour cancellation had greatly upset the Japanese government and adversely affected the bilateral ties.

There is though no "hard evidence" of the United States involvement in the anti-Pakistan propaganda but "there are broad enough indications" that Washington is pursuing its policy of discouraging its allies in the West and the Pacific rim to give assistance to Pakistan.

Quoting "unidentified" sources *THE LOS ANGELES TIMES* has reported that China exported "some two dozen" M-11 missiles to Pakistan in the past two weeks. The missiles were photographed while being unloaded at the Karachi port, the paper further claimed.

Last week Senator Larry Pressler had told the NBC network that Pakistan had at least seven nuclear devices that could be assembled and dropped within hours. To give meat to its story the network also presented an interview with former prime minister Ms. Benazir Bhutto, who further strengthened doubts about Pakistan's nuclear capability.

British Broadcasting Corporation on Friday night in its South Asia report also presented an interview with an American scholar who too tried to create impression that Pakistan has gone nuclear.

Japan is Pakistan's biggest aid donor and given its anti-nuclear stance countries hostile to Pakistan would always try to disrupt Islamabad's growing friendships with countries who can operate outside the American influence, like France and Japan.

The United States would also like to see that the Pak-Japanese economic relations do not expand. In a similar situation in early 1970s the United States succeeded in creating serious disturbances in Indonesia on the eve of then Japanese prime minister Tanaka's visit.

China is a signatory to the missile technology control regime and should Washington like to increase its pressure on Pakistan and China it might like to impose economic sanctions against Beijing.

U.S. Attitude Toward Nation Called Unfriendly

93AS0306B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 4 Dec 92
p 6

[Editorial: "America's Unfriendly Act"]

[Text] Senator Larry Pressler alleged on U.S. television network NBC that Pakistan possessed at least seven nuclear weapons, which could be assembled within hours and dropped by aircraft; and that each of Pakistan's [atomic bombs] was as large as the one dropped on Hiroshima. Another senator, John Glenn, accused Pakistan of providing misleading information about its nuclear weapons. Benazir Bhutto, Pakistan's former prime minister and now the leader of the opposition in the National Assembly, also appeared on the same program and claimed that she was better informed about Pakistan's nuclear program than the American CIA. Pakistan's foreign ministry, on the other hand, has denied Senator Pressler's allegation and said that Pakistan did not have any nuclear bombs and that its nuclear program was for peaceful uses alone. In regard to Senator Pressler's statement, it should be noted that he belongs to a lobby that continuously carries on propaganda about Pakistan's possessing nuclear bombs and has used every opportunity to stop U.S. aid to Pakistan. Pressler is the author of the amendment that has caused U.S. aid to Pakistan to be stopped from time to time, including now. There is no doubt that the lobby becomes active just at the time when the aid bill comes before the Senate or whenever Pakistan makes any headway towards economic progress. This time, the lobby appears to have become active through Pressler because Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is about to visit Japan and the prospects of new avenues of economic and trade cooperation between Japan and Pakistan appear very bright. It is also a fact that Japan is the only country in the world that has suffered a nuclear attack, and although nuclear energy is used in various fields in Japan, the Japanese people strongly oppose any other use of nuclear energy and have negative feelings about it. Thus, to attempt, at the time of the Pakistani prime minister's visit, to convince the Japanese that Pakistan's nuclear program is for the purpose of building nuclear bombs is tantamount to

inciting Japanese public opinion and indirectly sabotaging the prime minister's visit. Making these so-called revelations just at the time of Nawaz Sharif's visit could have only one purpose, namely, to stop Japan from establishing friendly relations with Pakistan, giving any aid to Pakistan, or making investments in Pakistan. The Government of the United States should remember that such biased allegations by a senior U.S. politician and senator are in fact unfriendly American acts; diplomatic morality demands that no country should be libeled internationally. It is also worthy of note that Senator Larry Pressler has not unloosed such rhetoric about the nuclear programs of India, South Africa, and Israel; he has not even mentioned that they are nuclear powers, even though India exploded a nuclear device in 1974, and the governments of South Africa and Israel have not denied possessing nuclear weapons. Pakistan, on the other hand, has consistently made it clear that its nuclear program is for peaceful purposes only, and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has suggested that India and Pakistan both allow inspections of their nuclear installations. He has also proposed the convening of a five-nation conference to discuss the issue. Pakistan has even gone so far as to express its willingness to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, if India signs as well. India, however, has never expressed willingness to sign the treaty. No U.S. politician, including Pressler, has ever taken notice of India's attitude, nor have any of them said anything about India's nuclear capacity. As for Benazir's claim that she receives more information than the CIA regarding Pakistan's nuclear program, it was her duty, as the former prime minister of Pakistan, to confirm the fact that Pakistan's nuclear program is for peaceful purposes. Her failure to make this clear only strengthens the accusations leveled against Pakistan. The expectation is that U.S. politicians will put an end to the impression that their statements are designed to serve the interests of special lobbies.

U.S. Called Biased in Regard to Nuclear Proliferation

93AS0313E Lahore THE NATION in English 5 Dec 92
p 6

[Editorial: "Seven Bombs or None?"]

[Text] Senator Larry Pressler, in an interview with the NBC television network, has accused Pakistan of having the capability to assemble and drop as many as seven nuclear bombs of the size that were dropped on Hiroshima, within a matter of hours. The entire purpose of such a statement seems to be to whip up public hysteria in an effort to negatively influence the incoming administration of President-elect Clinton by showing the utter irresponsibility of our leaders, who according to Pressler, can place a bomb in a plane "fly it someplace and drop it." In support of Senator Pressler's stance, the NBC misquoted Foreign Secretary Sheharyar Khan's statements he made during his visit to the U.S., in which he is reported to have said that Pakistan has the capability of making one bomb and, therefore, has the

necessary parts required to assemble a bomb. In response to the NBC story, the Foreign Office has once again reiterated that Pakistan's nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes. But then few unbiased people even in the American Senate disagree with Pakistan's position which seeks to make the South Asia region nuclear-free, with India as a signatory to the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty]. For Pakistan to unilaterally sign the NPT, as demanded by Pressler, would be nothing short of a serious security risk given India's hegemonistic designs in the region. It will be recalled that in the U.N. vote about nonproliferation in South Asia, it was only India which cast a negative vote. No wonder Pakistan does not want to foreclose the option of a bomb considering that, according to American intelligence sources, India already has about 40 bombs and has unsupervised nuclear processing material to boot. And it is India that is refusing to sign the NPT, not Pakistan.

What, however, is incomprehensible to Pakistan is that the Pressler Amendment is Pakistan specific. Israel, with a known nuclear capability, has never had to pay the price of U.S. aid cuts, nor has India, with a known nuclear ability. India has had only a few trade sanctions imposed by the Americans, but has not had to pay the heavy price that Pakistan has—a price which has implied not only massive cuts in U.S. economic assistance, but also includes being asked to pay for the storage of defense equipment paid for fully by Pakistan. No one can possibly argue against the policies of any foreign government, but what one can question is the political ethics of an administration. All Pakistan looks for is a consistency in American policy given its own definition of political ethics. Surely that is not too much to ask.

Strained Relations With Clinton Administration Forecast

Prepare for the Worst

93AS0338A Karachi HERALD in English 15 Dec 92
pp 44c-44d

[Article by D. Shah Khan: "Life Without America"]

[Text] Having virtually outlived their utility for the United States in the new unipolar world, Pakistan's rulers are bracing themselves for the worst following Bill Clinton's election as president...

Some mighty egos in the Third World must have been quite shaken by the way they were totally ignored in the U.S. presidential debates, although the bloc accounts for an enormous chunk of humanity albeit one abysmally poor and underdeveloped. This must especially be the case with those leaders who have long wallowed in the euphoria of their nation's close linkage with Washington, and who had, at its beckoning, gladly rushed into places where angels feared to tread.

This show of U.S. indifference, however, was not unexpected as the debates were aimed at a domestic audience and dealt with national problems. It would have been

wrong to expect the presidential hopefuls to talk about the miseries of others even while the picture of their own economy suggested that the world's richest nation was on its way to the poorhouse.

Bill Clinton's virtuoso performance, depicting the nation's straitened circumstances in stark shades of poverty, made Third World states seem in piping good health. In any case, a presidential election in America is hardly the best time to gauge the candidates' foreign policy perceptions. As is the norm, micro issues receive top billing while macro problems are at best treated in a cavalier manner.

It was not surprising, therefore, that family values, abortion and the ozone layer consumed more debate time than did foreign affairs. Even the major question of resolving the economic problem was badly mangled by the contenders' oration. The American people had to choose between Ross Perot's homespun remedies and Clinton's quick, do-it-yourself solutions. Apart from the clichés and the purple patches, there was little in them for economists to bite on.

However, the fact that this time round, far more was left unsaid than ever before is a warning that the worst could be expected. For the generation of Pakistani leaders who grew up in the beneficial shadow of the cold war—with its fructifying trickle down effect—and had learnt to adapt the national economy to the handouts received as rewards for services rendered, this does not portend well.

With the Soviet Union having wished itself out of existence and the United States emerging as the sole superpower, the basic *raison d'être* for American munificence has vanished. Washington now has no urgent desire to make friends and influence people. The confrontation is over, the "evil empire" destroyed and the world once more made safe for unbridled economic imperialism.

If all this was not bad enough for Pakistan, even more unfortunate was the election of a Democrat as president. Islamabad has long suspected the Democratic Party as being pronouncedly pro-Indian and per se, anti-Pakistan. It is not known whether our leaders, notwithstanding their warm messages of felicitations to Clinton and Gore, did not observe a week's mourning at the prospect of having to deal with a government without the credentials of its predecessor—namely, hardline conservatism and a readiness to accommodate dictators.

The Democrats, armed with a sheaf of queer policies and a declared interest in a sovereign nation's dirty linen, such as its human rights record—cannot possibly appeal to our leaders. The Republicans, during their occasional period of lucidity, were much easier to do business with. Ronald Reagan, unlike Carter, was quick to grasp the utility of Pakistan as a self-confessed frontline state and a buffer vis-a-vis the Soviet presence in the neighbourhood. He gave General Zia-ul-Haq sufficient doses of

adrenalin to send him in the mad pursuit of a reckless policy in Afghanistan, the price of which we are still having to pay.

But this does not mean that the Democrats' policies are any better. Apart from Carter's performance, there is nothing to show in recent times for whether they ever lived up to what they preached to the world. Kennedy, before his tragic death, made his nation suffer three traumatic episodes as a result of his quixotic role of fighting the mythical red dragon.

First, there was the abortive Bay of Pigs adventure, then an attempt to push the world close to a doomsday war and finally converting Vietnam into a killing field. His successor, Johnson, continued this policy by extending the bloodletting all over the peninsula. Even Truman once threatened to use the nuclear option in Korea when the war went the wrong way.

Given the dramatic changes in international political ecology, it would not really have mattered for Pakistan whether Bush or Clinton emerged successful. The only favourable aspect, had the Republicans returned to power, was the faint hope that they might remember the enthusiasm with which Islamabad had cheerfully borne the white man's burden—be it in Afghanistan or in Iraq. This might have helped cushion the impact of the drastic policies ahead.

It would be somewhat difficult to expect any indulgence from the Democratic government merely on the strength of our past performance, when their expected future approach—at least from what is apparent—is likely to be extremely thorny. Clinton, as an admirer of Kennedy, might well be provoked to advise his country's faithful allies: "Ask not what more America can do for you but what more you can do for America."

In any case, he should be too involved in rescuing his nation from imminent bankruptcy to have any time, at least for the first hundred or even two hundred days, to hear the supplications of the traditional aid recipients. Our leaders might have to wait out this period in hand wringing anguish, unaware of the new policy till some junior U.S. state department bureaucrat pays a ritual visit to Pakistan.

It is as such, not without good reason trying to read future developments and warmly receiving any itinerant visitor from Washington. The report that the Indian leader, Narasimha Rao, has already had a call from the president-elect has not been helpful either.

In such circumstances, the best approach for Pakistan would be to prepare for the worst and start patching together a policy that would be designed for life without America. In its early days, the present government on directions from Ghulam Ishaq Khan, managed to put up a bravura show by declaring that Pakistan would no more rely on the crutches of foreign aid.

Although there was no formal discarding of props or a smashing of the beggar's bowl, the rhetoric indicated that in theory at least, the government had finally realised the folly of incremental growth on borrowed money. It does not really matter that after the clarion call was made, the finance minister was dispatched to Washington to repair the aid pipeline which had ceased to flow due to a policy malfunction at that end. In our inverted political milieu, it is the thought and not its implementation that is paramount.

However, after carefully combing through the views expressed by Clinton and his spokesmen, it appears that foreign affairs will not be an important occupation of the new government. Economy rightly has the pride of place. This allows for a possible continuation of the existing policy with some cosmetic changes in line with the party's posture.

Whether this will assuage fears in Islamabad is debatable as the Republican administration in the last few years had, in any case, been gently tightening the aid screws on Pakistan. The Americans have given many glib explanations for this change of heart, as compared to that of the eighties, when they were bending over backwards to please Pakistan.

The reasons for this policy shift stretch across a wide spectrum. They include U.S. fears over our "threshold" nuclear status (whatever that means) to the drug menace, terrorism, burgeoning population and our Islamic profile. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact problem as, on account of the Afghan problem, Washington had acquiesced to much more than would have been otherwise imaginable.

The new administration is unlikely to relieve the pressure on Pakistan as this must be a part of the overall strategy. Besides, it would be against the new ruling party's nature to do so. Unlike some scholars, who tend to denigrate the idea of the traditional Democratic tilt towards India, experience suggests that if the new man in Washington has to choose between the two South Asian neighbours, he would prefer the larger one.

It is a different matter, that in view of the decline of the Soviet Union, Delhi should not expect the same treatment it received earlier. The Americans no longer have a pressing reason to be any kinder to India than they do to Pakistan. The nature of future relations will depend entirely on the Indian response to the policies the U.S. is planning to implement.

This condition will probably be just as applicable to Pakistan which would, however, be faced with a bizarre catch-22 situation. With the end of what was seen as the red peril, the Americans have embarked on a policy of mopping up opponents, most of them Muslim and situated in the Middle East and Gulf region.

The U.S. state department has already identified two of them—Iran (because of its espousing the Islamic cause) and Iraq (due to its military potential) as its main enemies.

The Desert Shield/Desert Storm operation, which was conducted like an elaborate military exercise, has provided the Americans with useful experience in dealing with a confrontation in the strategic oil rich but arid region. As basic groundwork, the regional states are being conscripted into a defensive and offensive military organisation in the Gulf.

This has, in turn, incited an arms race with Iran which is feverishly building up its military potential. Large scale purchases from the arms juma bazar in the former U.S.S.R. have greatly augmented its clout. Other related developments are the frequent visits to Pakistan by the Centcom chief, the military commanders of various regional states, and reports of war games with western participation in the area.

It is in such a context that Pakistan will be faced with an enigma, a sort of Hobson's choice. Our leaders in the past had always betrayed an immense capacity to read the American mind and respond accordingly. Be it support for their struggle against the U.S.S.R. or boycotting the Olympics, we were not found wanting. Even the once arch critic of American policies, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, after he had received Nixon's "cornerstone" assurance, had gone out of his way to revive the moribund Cento as well as played up Pakistan's fitness as a policeman of the Gulf.

But this time, the situation is different and Pakistan will have to surmount an impossible hurdle. Verbal support is understandable, but actively joining an American military initiative against Iran and Iraq, both of them fraternal Islamic nations and one a close neighbour, is a formidable prospect. It now depends on how Islamabad reacts to the challenge. Meanwhile, it must be quite apparent by now that the economic arm-twisting was no more than a subtle American method of demanding its pound of flesh.

Pro-Jewish Anti-Muslim

93AS0338B Karachi HERALD in English Dec 92
pp 65-66

[Article by Mowahid H. Shah: "The Clinton Factor"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Washington, DC—On March 1, 1991, George Bush stood at the helm of the world with his public approval rating at 88 percent.

He had put together a 30-nation coalition which helped destroy the Iraq military and the Iraqi civilian infrastructure. This was done essentially to ensure that the state of Israel and the monied Arab establishment breathed a little easier. Concurrent with operation Desert Storm was talk of a 'New World Order' which, in substance,

turned out to be a well disguised euphemism for the old colonial order dressed up in the uniform of the United States—an organisation purportedly set up to promote and maintain peace but which, in effect, became a warmaking machinery for the West.

The Muslim elite—ostensible believers in the oneness of Allah—were quick to proclaim a uni-superpower world—a world without rivals, a world in which the United States writ would be supreme and unchallenged. George Bush was anointed Haji Bush for doing to Baghdad what the Mongol hordes had done to the great Muslim capital in 1258. Those who dared question George Bush's conception of the New World Order were dismissed as radicals or romantics. Buoyed up by the collapse of communism, the break-up of the U.S.S.R., and the battering of Iraq, a pharaonic hubris had set in at the White House. This attitude was manifested abroad by the badgering of old allies like Pakistan on the nuclear issue and at home by being blinded to the economic malaise.

The landslide electoral defeat of George Bush is, therefore, a sweeping humiliation for those who, as the Koran describes, "strut arrogantly on the Earth."

The Bush debacle further exposes the shallowness and fragility of the political culture of the Muslim world's ruling elite who seek salvation from idols in the West. Their static attitudes and policies in the face of a fast changing world are consigning their nations to the role of panhandling bystanders, even while vested interests have a considerable stake in keeping them down as a permanent underclass. The tumbling of George Bush shows that what seemed impregnable yesterday, is no more today.

Meanwhile, the most overtly pro-Israeli presidential candidate in U.S. history is now poised to enter the White House. Bill Clinton, and especially Al Gore, are encircled by a bevy of Zionist zealots ensuring that this time the White House will not look with disfavour on shifting the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Clinton has already stated that he considers Jerusalem the capital of Israel. But any final decision, he says, will be put on hold for the duration of the Middle East peace process.

Clinton and Gore may continue, then, to cast Islam as the green peril. While they may stress humanitarian themes, the Palestinian statehood issue is likely to be addressed only in the context of terrorism and Israeli security. Israel will continue to be viewed through the prism of morality and human rights. On nuclear nonproliferation, also known as weapons of mass destruction, the American case is likely to be pressed more strenuously to better ensure that Western powers and the state of Israel continue to enjoy an unquestioned monopoly. The growing spotlight on Iran and on its alleged nuclear ambitions are early indicators of an emerging pattern. Iran is identified as the fountainhead of the new 'subversive' ideology—Islamic 'fundamentalism'. Its size

and clout in the Persian Gulf region, coupled with its opposition to the so-called Arab-Israeli 'peace process', suggest that it will figure in the geopolitical calculus of the Clinton administration. The administration will, meanwhile, also continue to exploit Muslim vulnerabilities such as the lack of democracy and a just social order in their regions. But in doing so, the Clinton/Core White House could unwittingly spark a motivational drive for Muslim enfranchisement, self reliance, meritocracy and a stronger commitment towards developing a competitive base in science and technology. This possibility is becoming more likely at a time when populist Islamic sentiments are on the rise in the Maghreb, Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, and Turkey.

In a revealing incident, David Steiner, the President of the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)—the pro-Israeli lobby group—resigned over the interception of a taped telephone conversation between him and Clinton. AIPAC was apparently negotiating Clinton's choice of Secretary of State and National Security Advisor. AIPAC's recommendation for Secretary of State was Pakistan's nemesis, Stephen Solarz, self-described committed supporter of India, and recipient of the Hilal-e-Quaid-e-Azam. Clinton's legal counsel Davis Ifshin is also incidentally, AIPAC's general counsel. And the new head of AIPAC is a major Clinton backer.

The Bush Administration was, in substance, covertly protective of Israel but fostered the illusion of carrying on a Middle East peace process which managed to fool many. Despite what Bush did in Iraq and his apathy to the genocide of Muslims in Bosnia, some Muslims continue to think that he was "better."

The Clinton White House would be more visibly identified with Israeli interests, but this should clear some of the confusion and ambiguity surrounding Muslim perceptions of courting benefactors in Washington. Clinton is clearly more vulnerable to the charge that his Muslim policy is hostage to the Israeli lobby. While Clinton's Israeli connections suggest certain policy directions, he may well feel pressured to try and dispel this impression by making an effort to appear even-handed. This is an affordable risk since he does not need to contend with the Jewish electoral strength until 1996. The head of the Clinton transition team is Los Angeles lawyer and former Deputy Secretary of State, Warren Christopher. He was chosen despite objections from Jewish groups who are unhappy with Christopher's association with President Carter who, as early as March 1977, had advocated the formation of a Palestinian homeland. Christopher was also closely involved with negotiations in Algiers centering on the release of American hostages from the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, in January 1981, where they had been held for 444 days.

In a more positive light, the situations in Bosnia and Kashmir may get a relatively sympathetic hearing from the Clinton Administration. Gore, for instance, sponsored Senate Resolution 91 criticizing India on its

human rights violations in Kashmir. And during his campaign, Clinton urged aerial strikes against Serb gunners besieging Sarajevo. The gulf between Clinton the campaigner and Clinton the president remains to be examined. The new administration may be on less cordial terms with the Arab establishment, although a recent phone conversation between Clinton and King Fahd centered on 'hostile powers' in the Persian Gulf.

On Central Asia, the Clinton policy remains unstated. This issue was raised during the 105-minute meeting between Bush and Clinton at the White House, and will continue to be relevant in the context of the control and fragmentation of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. Then again, Israel is the beneficiary of the outflow of Central Asian Jews to beef up its demographic race with the Arabs.

The Clinton administration, nonetheless, furnishes new opportunities for candidature, fresh ideas and approaches. Unlike John F. Kennedy, who was skillfully packaged and marketed by his capitalist baron father, Clinton, a posthumous child, rose from modest beginnings in small town America, survived an alcoholic stepfather and handled with grace his brother Roger's drug-related problems which landed him in the penitentiary. He is one of the most intelligent men to occupy the White House in recent years. With the help of powerful backers like Pamela Harriman (doyenne of the Democratic Party), he pursued the presidency with imagination and perseverance. If, as President Clinton, he is able to show comparable vision and transcend his partisan circles, then there is room for optimism.

French Retreat on Supplying Nuclear Plant Viewed

93AS0264A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 1 Dec 92 p 10

[Editorial: "French Ambassador on Nuclear Cooperation"]

[Text] The French ambassador to Pakistan, Jean Pierre Masset, has stated that since France is about to sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], the supply of a nuclear reprocessing plant to Pakistan is out of the question. However, his government is prepared to provide a nuclear power plant to Islamabad to meet its energy requirements. He has asserted that in February 1991, President Mitterrand, during his visit to Pakistan, had given a green signal for the supply of a nuclear power plant to the Bhutto government, but the deal was shelved because of the transition from one government to another, suggesting that it was Islamabad's failure to follow up on the issue which resulted in the deal's failure.

The chapter of nuclear cooperation between France and Pakistan has so far been characterized by aborted deals. The French government has twice reneged on commitments made with Islamabad for nuclear cooperation. The initial agreement with Islamabad, for the supply of a nuclear reprocessing plant, made in 1973, was cancelled by France in 1978. The issue of compensation, in which

Pakistan demanded 480 million U.S. dollars, against the 25 percent down payment made at the time of contract and the Rs [Rupees] one billion spent on infrastructure at Chashma till 1978, remained in impasse until 1990. During President Mitterrand's visit to Pakistan in January, that year, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, the then prime minister was successful in drawing out an agreement which linked the aborted reprocessing plant deal to the supply of a 900 MW nuclear power reactor. The French president agreed to sell Islamabad the nuclear reactor under safeguards, settle the compensation issue through arbitration and adjust the amount against the cost of the reactor. Yet this revived hope of nuclear cooperation with France was dispelled soon enough. In 1991, Paris as well as Beijing agreed to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. During Mr. Nawaz Sharif's visit to France in January 1992, Pakistan was compelled to agree to a compensation of only 118 million U.S. dollars, far short of what was due, and the nuclear power plant issue was put on the back-burner. The French government's breach of commitment for the supply of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, crucial for Pakistan's development needs, is indeed unfortunate. In the post-Gulf war scenario, the consensus amongst Western powers against nuclear proliferation has strengthened. The French ambassador has welcomed Islamabad's repeated initiatives towards making the South Asian region a nuclear free-zone, which France has supported and which underlines Islamabad's policy of nuclear restraint. When he states that his government is prepared to supply the nuclear power plant to Pakistan, Islamabad must take him for his word, and heighten efforts towards that end.

Doubts Expressed Regarding ECO Nations' Unity

93AS0313F Lahore *THE NATION* (Supplement)
in English 4 Dec 92 pp 2-3

[Article by Anwer Sindhu: "How Far Can ECO Go!"; quotation marks and italicized words as published]

[Text] The admission of seven new member states to the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) at an extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers last Saturday was greeted with mixed emotions. The evolution of this prospective economic grouping of Muslim nations was a dream-come true for Pan-Islamists. In the aftermath of the Gulf war, it was towards the newly-independent states of Central Asia that these ideologues looked, in the belief that from this unity of non-Arab Muslims would emerge a bloc with the potential to compete with the powers of the West and the Far East. On the other, the 'realists' of the diplomatic corps, Pakistani and otherwise, were warning against overemphasising the political nature of this so-called "Islamic brotherhood."

Whatever euphoria the Pan-Islamists had managed to build up before the conference on Saturday began to

evaporate as soon as the Foreign Ministers of Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kirghyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan signed the formal instruments of accession to ECO. The first spanner to be thrown in the works was the absence of a delegation from Tajikistan. While the ECO Chairman, Pakistan's Minister of State for foreign Affairs Siddique Kanju, was at pains to point out that the Tajiks would be sending their instrument of accession as soon as circumstances permitted, it was obvious that much water would flow beneath the bridge before ECO became one big happy family. Kanju was, however, gratified to be able to announce that Kazakhstan had filed an eleventh-hour application the day before the conference, allowing ECO Secretary-General Shamshad Ahmad to fill the empty space left by the Tajiks.

However, fundamental questions about the feasibility of ECO had been raised. Tajikistan is seen by the other Central Asian States as the regional "test case," having the dubious honour of being the first of the former Soviet republics to encounter the phantom of Islamic fundamentalism. Its absence at the ECO conference was a backhanded tribute to the consequent political instability. The Afghan experience had already left the former Soviets with the jitters. Not so long ago, a ranking Russian diplomat in Islamabad told *THE NATION* that Moscow was not beyond sending large forces to protect ethnic Russians living in other republics of the commonwealth of Independent States from the threat posed by so-called *mujahideen*. So it was only natural that the Kremlin decided to lean very heavily on the Kazakh government to postpone its joining of the ECO, considering that ethnic Russians constitute 40 percent of the republic's population. It took considerable diplomacy from Pakistan, especially during the recent trip to Moscow by Secretary-General Foreign Affairs Akram Zaki, to persuade the Russians to rescind their veto.

The next surprise of the conference came from a rather disgruntled Azeri Foreign Minister, who managed to kill two birds with one stone. Seconding a proposal moved by Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati to have the speech of the Prime Minister included in the official document on the conference, he pointed out that Mian Nawaz had made no mention of the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute. This forced Pakistan's Foreign Secretary Shehryar Khan to point out that a reference to the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan had been made during the speech by Kanju. All that the PM's [Prime Minister] speechwriters had done was to set the parameters of what Pakistan saw as the political viability of the ECO forum. The PM wisely restricted himself to the regional issues of Kashmir and Afghanistan, while steering clear from Nagorno-Karabakh and Palestine. Expressing indignation against Serbian aggression in Bosnia was safe enough, considering that the Organisation of Islamic Conference [OIC] was meeting at Jeddah three days later to discuss this very issue. However, the Azeri Foreign Minister's speech was a cause for anxiety. What if they asked for military assistance from their ECO partners?

After all, three of the Central Asian States had already formed a joint defence force to be used to quell the civil war in Tajikistan.

Therefore, Mian Nawaz was giving Pakistan's definition of the political role ECO should play. It was an innocent economic alliance which should not be perceived as a threat by the West. Sheharyar underlined this point at the Foreign Office briefing immediately after the conference. In doing so, our businessman Prime Minister was also reassuring the secularist administrations of the Central Asian States that Pakistan had no intentions of sending hordes of theocrats to inculcate them in the intricacies of Shariah. The common ground of Islam was a good justification to exploit each other's markets, which is a good idea when one's low-quality textiles are being shut out by the formation of common markets in North America and Europe.

But totally ignoring the Islamic identity of the ECO did not suit Pakistan's line either. For one, Foreign Office 'Big Chief' Akram Zaki is one diplomat with little love for the Americans. As one-time envoy to Beijing, he is attracted to the idea that an alliance of Asian Muslims and China would form the next superpower, though he is also one of the 'realists' when it comes to evaluating the chances of the Asian Muslims getting their act together. The Foreign Office is also aware that India's interest in joining the ECO dates back to the days when it was still called the Regional Cooperation for Development. Therefore, while Pakistan is open to the idea of the ECO membership being still further expanded, it would find it difficult to explain support for Romania's application if it vetoed the Indians. This is further evident from the special status granted to Turkish Cyprus by the ECO.

Pakistan has displayed a certain amount of apathy towards Central Asia and the ECO as a whole. Despite the early inroads made by Minister of State for Economic Affairs Sardar Asseff Ahmad Ali, the Foreign Office has yet to come up with an integrated policy on Central Asia. The general inertia against change, true of any diplomatic machine, is partly to blame, as is the situation in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, despite the great sacrifices made by the people of Pakistan to accommodate the ambitions of their rulers, Afghanistan is perhaps farther from peace and stability than it was after the 1979 Soviet invasion. Ironically, Pakistan's nearest link to Central Asia was a tantalising 30 kilometres through the Wakhan Strip of Afghanistan to Tajikistan. But instead of resolving their differences and clearing the road for Pakistan, the Afghans sent their soldiers of Islam northwards, stirring a hornet's nest in Tajikistan as well. Therefore, Pakistan is having to look at alternative routes via those areas of Afghanistan which are under groups with strong Iranian affiliation. The sense of *deja vu* is all the more strong, considering the strong disagreements that have emerged between Pakistan and Iran over Afghanistan. It seems that if Pakistan is to trade with Central Asia and the rest of the ECO, it will have to do so via Iranian territory.

It was significant that at the supposedly apolitical ECO session on Saturday, it was only the Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati who made a pointed reference to the ECO as "this brotherhood of Islamic nations" and only he who made serious proposals to expand the economic role of the ECO. In calling for the establishment of a common ECO airline and satellite facility, Velayati put his hosts Pakistan under pressure. Sheharyar told the Press later that the Iranian proposal was worth serious consideration, but pointed out that other proposals contained in the Iranian Foreign Minister's lengthy speech were repetitions of things already under consideration by the ECO. The new proposals would only be considered once Tehran sent in papers detailing the projects to the ECO member countries, he said. He re-emphasised that the session had had the singular aim of admitting the seven new members and that the ECO was an economic grouping and not an Islamic alliance.

Pakistan has reason to fear the Iranians have every intention of becoming the dominant force in ECO. So far, the presence of the Turks has been the one factor that has maintained the balance of power in this embryonic alliance. With the exception of the Tajiks, all the Central Asians are Turkics. The former communist republics have only to look to Tajikistan to reaffirm their commitment towards plural-democracy, market economy form of government. But members of the Turkish delegation at the ECO conference yawned often enough to let everyone know that they are still thinking in terms of the European community. Meanwhile, the Iranians have been busy forming a sub-partnership of countries around the Caspian Sea, while also working away at the Persian-speaking populations of Central Asia.

At the moment, looking at the present situation, the chances of ECO rapidly developing towards closer economic union are not too bright, while political union is so far over the horizon as to be invisible. History is full of surprises, so it would not be right to rule out the possibility entirely, but it remains remote.

India Mosque Razing Said Israeli, Imperialist Conspiracy

BK1312115592 Karachi DAWN in English 13 Dec 92 p 5

[Text] Karachi, Dec 12—The chief of Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria [TNFJ] and a central leader of People's Democratic Alliance, Allama Seyyed Sajid Naqvi, has said the demolition of Babri Mosque is the result of a conspiracy jointly hatched by imperialist forces and Israel.

Speaking at a meeting held here on Saturday at Masjid Khatrul Ammal, Ancholi Society, the TNFJ chief said that under the conspiracy the reactionary forces wanted to start killing Indian Muslims after the massacre of Bosnian Muslims, hence it was a big challenge for the Islamic countries.

He demanded of Indian Government to give exemplary punishment to those who had hurt the feelings of entire Muslim Ummah by demolishing the mosque.

The TNFJ leader also appealed to all Islamic countries to sever their diplomatic ties with India, besides the United Nations be pressurised to take action against India.

"The incidents of usurping the rights of Muslim minorities in Pakistan has also encouraged the Hindus to destroy Muslim's places of worship in India," he added.

Regional Affairs

India Claimed Undermining Nation's Regional Alliances

93AS0263H Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 21 Nov 92 pp 10-11

[Article by Shireen M. Mazari: "India's Regional Policy Agenda: Undermining Pakistan's Alliances"]

[Text] The recent news put out by the Indian media, and reported in the Pakistani press, regarding expanding Indo-Iran cooperation in strategic issue-areas like defence and energy, reflects the pragmatism and shrewd opportunism that has always been a mark of Indian foreign policy. Regardless of how far the particulars of the fields of cooperation claimed by the Indians actually materialise, there is no denying the close links the Indians are developing with Iran—especially in the economic field. This is, of course, in sharp contrast to Pakistan's penchant for relying on a primarily reactive foreign policy and being given to procrastination and hesitancy in crucial issue-areas.

For instance, with Iran, despite every Pakistani leader voicing a commitment to improving and expanding the relationship, little has been achieved in concrete terms. Security cooperation with Iran, which seems to be the most credible option for Pakistan within the prevailing geo-political milieu, has been beset by extraneous issues, like sectarianism. Apart from the domestic aspects of sectarianism, every time Pakistan attempts to move closer in concrete terms to Iran, Saudi Arabia—which seems to have an inexplicable hold on the decision-making elite of Pakistan—intervenes to sabotage such developments. One clear example of this was the visit of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to Saudi Arabia immediately following the visit of Iranian President Rafsanjani to Pakistan—with the apparent intention of offering an explanation of this visit to the Saudis. India, on the other hand, seemingly, has no problems with Iran's revolutionary Islamic ideology.

Again, in relation to Iran-Pakistan cooperation, even in issue-areas where there have been agreements in principle, there has been a lag in concretising them into operational policy. For example, agreements arrived at when President Ishaq visited Iran in September 1991, such as the one on laying a railway tract, has yet to be

implemented. Other defence-related agreements with Iran also continue to remain in a state of semi-suspension.

India's cooperation with Iran is just one of her policy initiatives, which seem to focus on wooing away Pakistan's allies. With a remarkable pragmatism, India has improved and expanded its relations with China and Bangladesh, and now it has moved into West Asia through Asia. Additionally, it has already made concrete economic headway in the Central Asian states even as Pakistan continues to trumpet its common Islamic heritage with these states. Nor should Pakistan forget the fact that India has many years of linkages with segments of the old Afghan ruling elite. Even as Pakistan seems to be losing its grip on events and politics in Afghanistan, India is bound to capitalise on the state of confusion prevailing in that country.

For India, apart from the intransigent value of developing relations with strategically critical states, like Iran and China, improving relations with these states undermines the very foundations of Pakistan's crucial national security policy objectives—especially in areas like the Kashmir conflict where both China and Iran have been in the forefront of supporting Pakistan's stance in international fora. Iran, especially, has been extremely vociferous in propagating the cause of the Kashmiri mujahideen.

With the insurgency in Kashmir continues unabated and gradual awareness by the international community of the human rights violations being committed in Occupied Kashmir by the Indian government, wooing China and Iran, two committed allies of Pakistan, serves a duality of purpose for India. In the meantime, not only does a successful pursuance of this policy by India have a negative impact upon Pakistan's morale, it substantively undermines efforts by Pakistan to maintain the support of its allies on issues vital to the national security. After all, as India moves closer to Iran and China, it is bound to demand at the very least a subtle shift in the policies of these states over Kashmir—an issue India also regards as critical to its national interest.

For Pakistan, its regional allies have never been more crucial in that it has to seek regional answers to its external security threats. With the U.S. seeking active strategic cooperation with India in South Asia—especially in the military field—Pakistan needs to exploit its regional options more actively. Within this parameter, Iran becomes indispensable as a military and political ally. China, of course, still offers the only external alternative to American and other Western states' embargo on the transfer of sophisticated technology, either dual-purpose or relating purely to weapons production.

The Indian policy initiatives in the region also allow the Americans an indirect access to states like Iran and China—both of whom are not open directly to American dictates, in terms of security issues. By building up India

as a regional hegemon with access to states like Iran and China, the U.S can expand its operations in these areas less obtrusively.

Given the speed, with which India is moving in Pakistan's strategic environment, the question that needs to be asked is: Whether Pakistan can continue to ignore taking bold policy initiatives with its long-standing regional allies. It also needs to redefine its relationship with states like Saudi Arabia, which for all practical purposes are following the American global agenda. For instance, it is now abundantly clear that it is only a matter of time before Saudi Arabia and other Arab states recognise the Zionist entity, Israel, despite Israeli intransigence on the issue of a Palestinian state and the return of refugees and reunification of Palestinian families.

For Pakistan, which has been in the forefront of supporting the Palestinian cause, this will create a policy dilemma. On the one hand, the Palestinian issue needs to be seen outside of an Arab perspective—as a matter of principle, in keeping with Pakistan's principled stand on Kashmir. On the other hand, Pakistan will find itself, along with Iran, probably one of the few states left, which will not be recognising Israel, which will expose it to increasing pressure not only from the U.S., but also from its erstwhile friends like the Saudis. For Pakistan, therefore, it becomes necessary to redefine its priorities amongst the Muslim states, with a greater emphasis being placed upon Iran rather than the Arab world.

In any event, with India's designs in the region becoming so overtly threatening to Pakistan's security interests, the ruling elite need to take time out from their political intrigues and focus on formulating substantive policies and long-term security goals. The costs of being caught by surprises in the region will be too heavy for the nation to bear.

Indian Government Seen Hostage to Hindu 'Fanaticism'

*BK0912085592 Islamabad THE NATION in English
9 Dec 92 p 6*

[Editorial: "Ayodhya Aftermath"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The way the blatant show of communal frenzy in Ayodhya was allowed to unravel the real face of the so-called 'largest democracy' in the world, has clearly brought the message home that, no matter which party is in power, New Delhi is a hostage to the forces of Hindu fanaticism. And perhaps it may be more convenient for Islamabad to deal with an avowed Hindu outfit like the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] rather than being misled into illusions of peaceful coexistence by sham secularists prone to double dealing at home and abroad. The Ayodhya episode should serve as an eye-opener to those who have been advocating 'step-by-step diplomacy' to ease tension with India and to create a climate congenial for talks on core issues of dispute. If Narasimha Rao government has turned out to be a paper tiger in the face

of a show of strength by Hindu communalists, and despite vows of protecting the Babri Masjid [mosque] has done nothing to stop the frenzied Hindu crowds from marching on to Ayodhya and dealing a death blow to India's secular pretensions, there should be no room for any wishful thinking about New Delhi's ability to enter into a meaningful dialogue with Islamabad. Whatever is now being belatedly undertaken to make amends for the Congress government's criminal negligence, or perhaps convenient inaction, is nothing but a hoax and not likely to fool anybody, in particular the Indian Muslims.

Sending paramilitary forces to retake the disputed site after the Mosque has been razed to the ground, and arresting L.K. Advani, M.M. Joshi and other BJP leaders when they have had their heart's desire fulfilled, is taking the joke too far. The mischief has been done and it has ignited the powderkeg. And no matter how many troops are now despatched to contain communal violence, India has to reckon with a long and dark night of killing, looting and arson. That the Congress party has lost its traditional support base among the Muslims is obvious and no amount of crocodile tears shed by Narasimha Rao and company is going to heal their wounds and trick them into forgetting the Congress treachery. And it is only a matter of time before the BJP leaders will be set free to claim laurels for having won a decisive battle for Ram raj [the rule of followers of Lord Ram]. Narasimha Rao, who was picked for the job not for his qualities of leadership, but for being the least controversial among the rival contenders for the top slot, has lived up to his reputation for indecision and inaction. His getting cold feet at the crucial moment of decision-making may eventually cost him his job, but not before he has thrown the Congress party into a state of disarray and a grave crisis. As V.P. Singh has said, Narasimha Rao may have become redundant to New Delhi's ruling elite, but how soon will he be sent packing depends on the realignment of political forces likely to take shape in the days to come.

Daily Blames India for 'Terrorist State' Propaganda

*BK1612150192 Rawalpindi NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
15 Dec 92 p 4*

[Editorial: "Pakistan Is Not a Terrorist State"]

[Text] An English newspaper, quoting information received from its sources, published a report the other day saying that the U.S. government is about to declare Pakistan a terrorist state. This declaration will result in the stoppage of all kinds of U.S. aid, well as IMF and World Bank assistance. The publication of this report had naturally sent a wave of concern among the national circles. But, Akram Zaki, the secretary general of foreign affairs, has told newsmen that, since Pakistan condemns international terrorism, it cannot be declared a terrorist state by the United States. He further stated that, since Pakistan has contributed peacekeeping troops

to Cambodia and Somalia and also supports actions taken by the member-countries of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation to eliminate terrorism, the State Department cannot declare it a terrorist state.

Even though Akram Zaki has described the English newspaper's report as incorrect and assured the nation that Pakistan cannot be declared a terrorist country, we cannot overlook the efforts of the anti-Pakistan countries which have been working for a long time to have Pakistan included in the list of terrorist states. It is India's earnest desire to have Pakistan deprived of the U.S. aid. It has been carrying out acts of ruthless oppression and tyranny in occupied Kashmir and East Punjab and wants to crush the Kashmiri freedom fighters and Sikh separatists by force. But, when it finds itself powerless and unnerved in front of the holy warriors of freedom, it levels allegations that Pakistan is aiding freedom fighters and separatists and has also established training camps for them. India is also helped by Israel in carrying out this propaganda. In view of a very powerful Jewish lobby existing in the United States, Pakistan needs to remain vigilant to ensure that India does not succeed in realizing its abominable designs. We expect our foreign office will not display a sense of laxity in this regard and take effective steps to counter the propaganda of the elements that are trying to have Pakistan included in the list of terrorist states.

SAARC Termed 'Hoax,' 'Waste' of Taxpayer Money

93AS0313B Lahore THE NATION (Supplement)
in English 10 Dec 92 p 5

[Article by Muhammad Abbas Zaidi: "SAARC Anachronism Lingers On"; italicized words and quotation marks as published]

[Text] For the historian of the future the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] would be understood to have been one of the much-trumpeted political jokes of the 20th century. In fact, the very *raison d'être* of this outfit was ridiculous from the day one because the vision that inspired its "Founding Fathers" was not based on any realistic analysis of geopolitical realities of South Asia. One of the ideas that inspired the creators of this organization was the functioning of regional organisations like the ASEAN [Association of South East Asian Nation] and the EC. Hence, they mistakenly thought that they could also have a similar cooperative organisation in a region whose countries, they thought, could cooperate on a few things in common.

Perhaps the only visible achievement of the SAARC has been the conferences of the heads of the governments/states of the member countries. But mere holding of conferences without arriving at tangible results is mere waste of public money of the people of the SAARC

countries. It is strange to note that none of the SAARC leaders ever thought about it.

The most pressing and formidable problems of the peoples of the SAARC countries are: (i) poverty, (ii) landslide illiteracy, (iii) ethnic and religious fanaticism, and (iv) class structure and its impact on the system of governments of the member countries. So far the SAARC have not worked together in order to achieve any significant results to overcome any of the above problems. The reason is very obvious: they are so deeply at odds with one another on their external issues that it is impossible for them to get together in order to deal with these problems. Moreover, they seem nonserious in grappling with these four problems. In this connection, a very significant incident can be quoted. When the SAARC heads-of-the-governments/states conference was held in Pakistan, just a single question from a Pakistani journalist exposed the philosophy underlying this "regional" organisation. At a Benazir-Rajiv joint press conference in Islamabad, the journalist asked Rajiv Gandhi, "The major hindrance in the way of progress in the SAARC region is feudalism. Have you evolved any strategy to put an end to the feudal structure in the region." The question swept him off his feet. With a fidgety grin and a couple of irrelevant sentences, he avoided answering the question.

So far the only visible sign of the SAARC's being operative has been sporadic exchanges of "cultural" troupes. And for some time even these troupes have ceased to be "exchanged." Regional cooperation in a volatile region like South Asia does not depend on mere cultural cooperation. In fact, even on this platform religious and political animosities of the member countries colours the exchanges.

These are two things common to all the SAARC countries: (i) Indian hegemonistic policies towards its neighbours, and (ii) mutual conflicts of the SAARC countries.

By dint of its enormous size, huge population, dominant military might and imperialistic policies, India is a threat to every other country of South Asia. The only country that can counter the Indian might is Pakistan. And India-Pakistan relations have almost always been at their worst. Repeated Indian interventions in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka have created a lot of bad blood between the two countries. Similarly, India's relations with Bangladesh and Nepal have also become soured for India's imperious treatment of these militarily weak states. India has practically reduced Bhutan to a status of a feeble satellite. The Maldives is also overawed by India.

Mutual conflicts of the SAARC countries are numerous. The most formidable being Pakistan-India conflict. Pakistan and India have so far fought three full-scale wars. They have been literally at war at Siachin for a number of years. The Kashmir issue, like the Middle East scenario, is potentially the most pernicious problem in the world. In Bhutan the recent spate of ethnic

violence between the Nepalese and the Bhutanese has resulted in a lot of misunderstanding between the governments of the two countries. India's problems with Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have been touched upon above.

It would be curious to note that the SAARC countries are not willing to talk to each other on the vital issues, the issues on which the improvement of their relations depends. India and Pakistan, the two pivotal SAARC countries, are taking severe actions against the citizens and diplomats of each other. Indian policemen have recently killed two Pakistanis. The Indian Government has not been able to justify the killing. It has even refused to return their dead bodies to Pakistan. Pakistan has asked its nationals to return from India without delay as they are not safe there. On the Kashmir affair India is not willing even to talk whereas on Siachin the two countries never reach any agreement. And now when the Hindu destruction of the Babri Mosque has incensed the Pakistani people for a very long time, and worthwhile improvement between India-Pakistan relations is a remote possibility. In such a situation the SAARC has become an anachronism. You cannot launch a space research project on the basis of a discarded astronomical theory. Similarly, cooperation among the South Asian countries is not possible until the issue of extreme politico-emotive nature are peacefully resolved. For Pakistan, no improvement of relations with India is possible unless India pulls out of Kashmir. India is by no means willing to do so. Hence, the enmity and the *status quo* continue to operate.

The SAARC now has become a mental luxury for the participants at SAARC conferences. It was created during the time when the entire South Asian region was ruled by persons of dictatorial temperature and ambitions. Now most of them are gone. Now this clone of the ASEAN and the EC has lost its meaning and relevance. Its time it was put down forever. This will terminate a "Regional Cooperation" hoax, and save public money from going waste.

Internal Affairs

Open Declaration of Nuclear Weapons Status Urged

93AS0314B Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 6 Dec 92 pp 10-11

[Article by Shireen M. Mazari: "Time To Emerge From the Nuclear Closet and Rationalise the Nuclear Option"]

[Text] In Pakistan's usual "yo-yo-like" posturing that has been a hallmark of its nuclear policy over the years, the Foreign Office has now declared that Pakistan has "acquired some technical capabilities" in the nuclear field—presumably in relation to weapons capability. Even this admission has been marked by hesitancy and a strange fear. Having already suffered the wrath of the West, led by the United States, surely it should be crystal

clear even to the obtuse analysts within the Pakistani Foreign Office, that there is little left for these states to do in terms of negative action against Pakistan in relation to its suspect nuclear programme—short of sending the U.S. Marines indirectly to destroy Pakistani nuclear installations!

It is equally clear that the West now deals with Pakistan on the premise that it has nuclear weapons capability—no matter what posture Pakistan adopts. Within these parameters, therefore, it makes absolutely no sense at all to attempt to maintain what is euphemistically termed by the Foreign Office as "an ambivalent posture" on the nuclear issue. Instead, it is time to accept the reality of the weapons capability and formulate rational policy options to deal with this capability.

For a start, it makes no sense at all, in terms of security policy and Pakistan's defence capabilities, to make the country's nuclear weapons policy contingent upon what India does. Pakistan needs to assess the nuclear option within its own defence needs, and not merely as a political tool to be used as a bargaining lever with India. Thus, Pakistan's decision on whether to retain or sign away its nuclear-weapons capability should not be premised on whether India signs the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) or not, nor on whether India does or does not agree to the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free-zone in South Asia.

If Pakistan wishes to opt for renouncing its nuclear-weapons capability, it should take that decision based upon a critical evaluation of its own defence needs and security threats. After all, India has its own threat perceptions and a more expansive resource base and defence capability.

So to begin with, Pakistan needs to accept the fact that as long as disputes like Kashmir exist with India, the country faces a security threat on its eastern borders. Historical experience also points to the need to be aware of India's questioning of the very rationale of the Partition of British India and its active role in the creation of Bangladesh. Those "liberals" who feel that Indian perceptions on the creation of Pakistan have altered should meet a few mainstream "liberal" Indian security and political science analysts—whose liberalism dissipates on the issue of India!

Given the security threat from India, the Pakistani decision-makers also need to accept the fact that they cannot militarily balance India in quantitative or qualitative terms. While the military decision-makers accept the impossibility of a quantitative balance, they still dream of a qualitative balance—despite being aware of existing resource constraints. At the same time, these decision-makers also admit to the high-tech demands of the modern battle-field.

Finally, historical experience also shows the uncertainty of relying on external sources for military hardware and on alliances. Pakistan's bitter experience with the United States in both these regards should have taught it at least

this one basic lesson—the unreliability of the U.S. in terms of Pakistan's security needs. In the present global and regional configurations, this point becomes even more acutely overt as the U.S. and India move towards close cooperation in the defence issue-area.

Thus, whether India retains its nuclear-weapons capability or seeks to forego it, Pakistan must consider the validity of the nuclear option within its own needs. To begin with, the no option allows Pakistan to balance the Indian threat in terms of a nuclear deterrence—since nuclear weapons are absolute weapons and do not require a one-to-one equation. The French, for instance, have traditionally rationalised their nuclear forces in relation to those of the United States and the old Soviet Union, on this principle.

Nuclear weapons also allow a country like Pakistan to overcome the inherent disadvantage of a lack of spatial depth which compounds Pakistan's conventional force imbalance in relation to India. Further, in order to rationalise the nuclear deterrence, Pakistan will have to cut down on conventional defence—thereby maintaining a one-rung escalation ladder. In other words, making it clear to the enemy that in the case of all-out war, Pakistan will have no option but to use nuclear weapons.

The logic of the one-rung escalation ladder, in the face of conventional force cuts, is further strengthened through the psychological advantage that such a strategy contains. So, the deterrence calculus becomes complete by containing the physical and the psychological components. Already, this was a major factor in preventing the outbreak of all-out war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir in the summer of 1990. In fact, the nuclear option adds a greater amount of flexible military alternatives for Pakistan, especially in terms of allowing for limited/localised military encounters with India.

Also, in terms of military strategy, until Pakistan develops a sound second-strike capability, it will have to opt for a counter-value strategy aimed at the industrial and population centres of India—most of the critical ones being within reach of Pakistan's existing medium-range delivery systems.

With the potential that the nuclear deterrence offers for cutting down not only on conventional defence expenditures but also on the size of the conventional forces, the internal dimensions of security are strengthened. One, a cutting down of defence expenditure will allow the diversion of resources to the social development sector—a glaring need within Pakistan today. Second, a cut in the size of the conventional forces will allow the dissipation of the naked face of militarism which continues to be so pervasive in the country's polity.

Also, once the option for nuclear deterrence has been made, there will be a need to undertake a complete force rationalisation programme which had never been undertaken in this country. One logical conclusion from such

an exercise will be to alter the balance between the three services, especially the army and the air force.

In conclusion, the time for Pakistan to finally decide on the nuclear issue could not have been more opportune. Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union has led to the reaction of four new nuclear weapons states—and only one being accepted as the successor state—the whole international nonproliferation regime premised upon the existing NPT will need to be restructured. Otherwise, the remaining three republics of the old Soviet Empire will find themselves outside of the existing regulatory framework. In such a situation, states like India and Pakistan can ask for a more realistic definition of a nuclear-weapon state within a revised NPT than the present one—which is a static definition since it defines a nuclear-weapon state as one which has exploded a nuclear device before 1st January 1967.

Whatever decision the nation's ruling elites arrive at, they must be clear that for all practical purposes the world already regards Pakistan as a nuclear-weapon state. All that is happening is that by denying this fact the Pakistani decision-makers are refusing to deal with the issues that need to be considered such as the framing of a rational nuclear-weapons policy in consonance with the security needs of the country. Surely these leaders need to realise that an ostrich-like attitude will not make the issue disappear!

Government Said Destroying Nation's International Image

93AS0264B Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 28 Nov 92 p 4

[Article by Prometheus: "What International Image"]

[Text] These days owing perhaps to acute political tension, the government seems to have lost its bearings completely. The ministers are making confused statements.

In one of such recent statements the prime minister has accused the opposition of tarnishing the image of the country by its long march.

The people of this country are somehow sensitive about the image abroad of this country. They have been regularly fed through mass propaganda that we as Pakistanis enjoy an excellent image abroad. Every government in power claims to improve the international image of this country.

The fact is that we, as a nation, have a very poor image. There are various reasons for that. In 1970s our image was destroyed by the policies of Gen Yahya Khan and the political suppression followed by military action in East Pakistan. The press in this country was not allowed to depict the accurate picture and the people were made to believe that the propaganda in the Western media was a conspiracy hatched by the Hindus and Jews. Again in 1970s this image was further spoiled by hundreds of

recruiting agents who traded in fake visas for employment abroad. Even today a number of Middle Eastern and Western countries cope with illegal Pakistani immigrants.

In 1980s we became infamous for our inability to control the drug traffickers. We have always been considered to be a nation of suppliers of drugs specially heroin to the foreign markets.

There have been international press reports regarding the involvement of some of our very important personalities in this trade. Some times our generals were blamed for their illicit wealth and some times some of the legislators were reported to have either directly been engaged in drug trafficking or harboring and supporting some of them.

In 1990s our poor image was further spoilt by the fiasco of BCCI [Bank of Commerce and Credit International], considered to be a fraud of the country. Consciously we promoted the chief executive of BCCI as a banking genius of Pakistan and we tried to sell the image of BCCI as a great achievement of Pakistan. In the end it was revealed that it was a bank of thugs and criminals. Charges of illicit trade in illegal arms were raised in addition to the laundering of drug money. Even prostitutes were used by senior executives of this bank to promote their illicit transactions.

Did the present administration make any contribution to the worsening of our image abroad? Mian Sahib seems to create an impression through his press statements that his administration was trying to improve the image but the opposition seems to be destroying it. He may recall that not very long ago, his IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] and MNAs [members of National Assembly] were blamed not only in this country but also abroad for the cooperative banking scandal that robbed people of about 17 billion rupees. His own family was mentioned in not very flattering terms in this context. This huge scandal created massive uproar not only inside the country was also adversely noticed in the international media. Despite that till today no single individual has been punished by this administration for having committed the fraud at such a large scale. Surely the long march could not have brought, if at all, as much ill repute to the country as the involvement of the party in power in this financial scandal of a prodigious proportion.

As if that was not adequate to hang our heads in shame in view of the civilized world abroad, Mian Sahib's government advertised in the United States the floating of an illegal bond that was conceived abroad as an attempt to attract black money by advertising that, "no questions would be asked", regarding the sources, illicit or not. We were all embarrassed when our government had to back out of the advertisement when the legal notice was taken by the concerned authorities abroad and we were derided in the foreign press.

Mian Sahib must be aware of the adverse reaction abroad of the duplicity of this government regarding the issue of declaring interest as illegal in this country.

The foreigners not bound by the law of contempt have not looked upon the Shariat Court with the respect that all of us accord to this court. The initial dickering and defensive approach of the government to tackle the issue has not been highly favored abroad. The situation might have been less alarming if Mian Sahib himself had not amended the constitution to provide for a parallel judicial system of special courts for speedy trial. This system is being adjudged as a violation of human rights and recognized principle of justice. These courts are not treated as an instrument of administration of justice but as an extension of the coercive power of the executive. This surely is creating doubts about our judicial system abroad.

And not to forget the public statement of our prime minister in favor of public hanging of the convicts of the speedy courts. The civilized world has interpreted it as an attempt at brutalizing the society. So adamant was our prime minister on this brutal display that quite a few convicts would have been by now hung with poles in Regal Chowk but for the decision of the supreme court against his ghastly act.

And the way the world received the decision of a Peshawar court to cut the hands of the two American Muslims is known to all of us. Recently another similar judgement has been reported in the press in which not only the hands but also the feet of the convict have to be cut. That must set our legislators to thinking that our laws are not being received abroad with applause. The Hadood Ordinance too has had its share of creating doubts about our civility in the developed world. This law appears to be inherently anti-women to the western world. Indeed it is for it makes no distinction between a woman raped and the one who indulges in fornication. But we insist on using this law against the women.

While mentioning the anti-women laws, one may also mention the series of gang rapes that have mostly gone unpunished in this country. The West has not as yet forgotten the case of Veena Hayat, a scandal in which the son in law of the president was directly accused by the victim, but no action was taken by the state.

Even before the enquiry commission gave its verdict the president made a public statement exonerating his son in law. Surely this king of conduct of our rulers is not expected to bring us a good name abroad.

The West must be wondering as to what is happening in this country when some one challenged the party system in a court where the matter whether the opposition parties are allowed in Islam, and the question is pending adjudication. This kind of controversy has been generated in this policy by the very nature of the constitution that virtually allows the Shariat Court to legislate and even question the articles of the Constitution.

To top it all our minorities are being gradually isolated from the mainstream of our national politics. It was Gen Zia who introduced the separate electorate system of them. Now the Ziaists are insisting upon have the entry of religion in the National Identity Cards. The minorities do not like being treated as second grade citizens. Our minister for religious affairs reassures them that the intention to provide a column for religion was conceived against the Quadianis and not Christians. It appears that for our religious minister it is alright to treat Quadianis as a second grade citizens, Christians have not accepted his plea. The rest of the world is wondering. I wonder if the image of this country was not badly tarnished by the treatment that was given to our Christian protesters in lahore when their procession was bitterly baton-charged by our notorious police, when their MNA [Member of National Assembly] was abused, derided and maltreated by this very government. In protest he burnt the furniture of his house and publicly threw mud on himself.

Our human rights record is abysmal [sentence as published]. We produced one of the monster-administrators in the shape of Jam Sadiq, a great favorite of our president and the prime minister, because he excelled in high handed tactics to suppress the opposition. That dark period in the country's history under this very regime surely did not bring laurels for us.

If our prime minister is really concerned about our image abroad of a nation whose leader of the opposition is dragged from one court to the other and whose-husband is languishing in jails for charges internationally known to have been motivated politically to put her under pressure.

Our prime minister has declared PPP [Pakistan People's Party] to be a party of terrorists and Indian agents [sentence as published]. Whether we like this party or not, whether we agree with its leadership or not, but the fact remains that it is the single largest party in the country and that, the World is told, consists of terrorists and unpatriotic elements. What a wonderful image we must be transmitting abroad of this country by issuing such purboc statements and that too at the level of our prime minister. Our chief minister threatens to break the hands and legs of his political opponents. When PTV was transmitting a fake film on AZO [Al-Zulfiqar Organization] styled on the violent Punjab films, the BBC and CNN were transmitting shouts of police atrocities against PDA's [People's Democratic Alliance] long marchers. Farooq Leghari was shown being beaten up in one of such shots. A lady journalist was slapped in another shot. Did our prime minister think about our image abroad? Whether or not the long marchers tarnished our image abroad, the government did do that by its brutal reaction against the long marchers.

Sindh Seen Capable of Meeting Crisis

93AS0309A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 24 Nov 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Sindh's Problems and Resources"]

[Text] Sayyed Muzaffar Hussain Shah, chief minister of Sindh, said while talking to the members of a

management advancement class last Saturday that the migration of other people into Sindh was causing problems here, and that unemployment is increasing. We cannot deny the fact that the economic situation in Sindh is getting worse instead of improving. Unemployment is also on the rise. However, the problem of unemployment is not limited to Sindh; in other states of the country, it is the same. That is why people go to Karachi for employment. In addition to other states, people from Sindh also come to Karachi. This is putting a lot of pressure on Karachi's economy.

One reason for the restlessness felt by the younger generation in Karachi is that the people living in the city cannot get employment in government departments or industrial and commercial concerns. However, we cannot stop the migration of other people into Sindh. According to our constitution and laws, the people can settle in any part of the country and start businesses or accept employment. However, to maintain a balance, there have been some principles and restrictions imposed. We must follow these. We hope that this does not lead to a situation whereby people living in the city cannot gain admission into educational institutions and suitable employment. Instead of them, people coming from other areas get these jobs by using false identification cards and domicile certificates. The main reason for Sindh's deteriorating situation, however, is not the migration of people from other states; it is the negative politics, ethnic prejudices, and deteriorating law-and-order situation that are affecting it. Industrial and economic progress have been badly affected. A few years ago, the Nuri Abad Industrial Estate was established. If we had established the industrial program there as planned, then employment could have been provided for hundreds of thousands of people. This industrial estate is still unoccupied. The present government of Sindh has not paid any attention to it. Because of riots and curfews, the industrial and business communities of Hyderabad and Karachi have been badly affected. In Inner Sindh, the activities of robbers and the hue and cry of various ethnic organizations have stopped the progress of industrialization. If they were successful in implementing the government's developmental programs within the required time, then Sindh would have been a state where people from other states could also have settled easily. Unfortunately, though, no concrete steps were taken about the situation in Sindh, and the present chief minister is also following in the footsteps of his predecessors, keeping busy with political coalitions to keep his seat. Therefore, instead of complaining about people from other states moving into Sindh, he should work toward improving law and order and eliminating prejudices in Sindh. This would help complete various industrialization plans, and people would be encouraged to invest more money.

March, Demonstrations Claimed 'Dangerous Trend'*93AS02641 Lahore THE NATION in English 27 Nov 92
p 4*

[Article by Zafar Samdani: "A Dangerous Trend"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Both the ruling IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] and Opposition PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] have claimed November 18 as the day of their victory. There is no reason to contest claims made on behalf of the Prime Minister and a former Prime Minister or by the leaders. Someone must surely have lost too.

Let us first look at strategies for success. The PDA's claim is authentic because the long march brought the government to a standstill and exposed what really lay behind the commitment to democracy, the IJI leaders leave no occasion not to reiterate. When it came to the crunch, the IJI had no political response and solution to offer, batons of police and tear-gas shells were their answer. This is the way you rule a people; the IJI can at least not be accused of leading the people.

The PDA leads the people, but to what destination? Its reaction to the IJI rule was storming the citadel of power to register protest. So it gave a call to the people to converge on the capital of Pakistan. As far as one could see, there was no organizational backing for the call. The PDA was counting on the emotional appeal of the Bhuttos to the masses. It did not consider other things important. Neither did it make any plans for its workers, supporters and their families in case they were arrested, even though mass arrests were to be predicted. It had hoped for instant results, there was something wrong with the thinking, for matters of state, whatever the backdrop, are not resolved in a matter of minutes, irrespective of the clumsy or corrupt manner in which a government may be managing the administration.

There was to be no speculation about how the IJI would handle the long march. By now it is established beyond a shadow of the slightest doubt that the IJI believes in dealing with the Opposition with the stick. Instead of a political wing in the party or the coalition, it has a powerful police wing in the administration which is responsible for keeping both partymen and oppositionists in line. This is apparently no sudden decision forced by circumstances but a well-thought-out policy. There has been no end of criticism of the Governments of the Punjab and Sindh for stuffing the police force with the nominees of the IJI's National and Provincial Assembly Members. The idea it seems, was enlisting loyalists in police who could serve it when times were difficult and when masses were looking at protest as an option; this policy got its dividend on November 18. The police were able to contain the challenge of the Opposition by tough tactics and use of brute force. Initially, exist [as published] points at all major centers were blocked and the people who escaped the dragnet were subjected to severe

baton charges and the harshest of tear-gassing. This was callous handling of a protest, regrettably not unprecedented.

Protagonists of the government are pleased, point out that if the Opposition wanted a few dead bodies to create more unrest and instability, it failed. They are convinced that the PDA wanted dead bodies to promote its case. In other words, they believe there does not exist any other grievance against the present government except the ambitions of the PDA, which to them stands for Ms. Benazir Bhutto. Perhaps that is the reason she was given rough treatment. Mian Nawaz Sharif's police treated her the way the late Z.A. Bhutto had treated some of his opponents. There are critics of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] who say that Benazir's government eschewed such methods because hers was a weak administration. Nevertheless, the PDA presided over the country with some decency.

The IJI government is answerable for a lot. Financial scandals have surrounded the government. It was lucky to survive the cooperatives scandal in which some of its leaders were directly involved and which was, unbelievably, ignored by the PDA. Then there are charges of massive corruption, high-handedness and maladministration against the government. It may not be possible to prove them in courts of law, but legal proof is not everything for a political government. When people start looking at an administration with distrust, it should be time for members of that administration to start worrying. It should be time for them to revise policies and methods rather than take refuge behind protective measures and fortify their defence by increasing the number of security forces around themselves.

The IJI leadership, however, decided to fight back with tactics associated with dictatorships and non-elected governments. It talked about democracy, has gone hoarse doing that but when the case is pleaded by children of dictators and products of military governments unwilling to change ways, who is likely to listen? The government also presented its version through the media it owns. That has been a practice with every administration in Pakistan, democratic or autocratic, but no government has relied so absolutely on media, to be exact on television, as the IJI. In the past, inadequate reporting was the practice. Distorted reporting and dissemination of information comprising downright lies and fabricated stories has become a component of the IJI's strategy to serve democracy. The government and its media coined phrases such as "protective custody" when arrests had been made. They ignored events which were witnessed by people themselves and put on air pictures irrelevant to events as they were taking place. Who was going to believe? Always low, its credibility now stands totally destroyed and no amount of inspired stories of rebuking of Minister would restore it.

The newspapers have been one of the foremost concerns of the government ever since it took charge and have become its greatest worry in the past few days. Cases of

maltreatment of journalists in the last week or so have been more than in the whole of the year now coming to an end. It seems that the 'elected' leaders of Pakistan have concluded that a free Press was detrimental to their interests and decided to do all to do away with it. The manner in which journalists have been blocked, beaten and coerced while performing their professional duties is simply disgusting and the way in which the Press has stood up, by and large, has been remarkably courageous. More importantly, it has not given into bias. Professional standards have been generally maintained and the principle of accuracy has been followed. The Press has made it clear that it will not submit to the dictates of the rulers. Even journalists known to be suspect, carrying reputations for thriving on state subsidies and who have been the beneficiaries of the IJI administration in the Punjab and Islamabad, have had to revise their conduct, though turning against governments at such junctures is their track record too. Still, even the 'plotters' are shunning the government's plot against the Press, which must be a source of discomfort to the IJI leadership. But it failed to derive a positive lesson from the story: money and patronage cannot buy all and everything for ever.

Also regrettable has been the approach of the government which viewed the protest as a one-day match. It may be a sport for the leaders, irrespective of which side of the fence they occupy at a given point in time. For the masses, however, protest is no sport; it is the last resort of a repressed people who have to live under an unjust order. They do not respond to calls because they are enamored of some leader or the other. They are driven to protest by conditions which, if not changed, can force any government to the wall if not drive it out. This can be predicted to be the fate of those who take over. The people are nobody's slaves; they are their own masters and the governments, elected or unelected, have to serve them if they wish to survive.

Protest is a terrible sport—if sport it is—and the nation would be much better off without it. The PDA, it is obvious, also regards protest as a sport.

The most disturbing aspect of the November 18 march and its handling by the government was the role the police was accorded. The repercussions of ruling by police can be disastrous. Already, there are reports of clashes between police and demonstrators and callous beating up of demonstrators by police. This could go on if the attitude of police did not change. This means we have members of administration and some segments of the population pitched against each other. Last Saturday, there was the report of an official getting beaten up by an enraged group of people. If this be a possible equation between the people and the government, one shudders to think of how things could develop for this is a dangerous trend.

Television News Claimed Government Propaganda Tool

93AS0309C Karachi AMN in Urdu 23 Nov 92 p 3

[Article by Balqis Jehan: "Television News Has Become Government News"]

[Text] There are five effective media in Pakistan: radio, books, newspapers, magazines, and television. Among these media, however, the most effective media in Pakistan is considered television. Television, in addition to providing entertainment programs to 74 percent of Pakistan's population, also presents documentary and news programs.

The news program on Pakistani television has been very important; however, television gradually became a puppet in the hands of politicians, especially those in the government. The government, of course, has the democratic right to use television to publicize its achievements. But it is an embarrassing situation when TV's news program becomes the government's own propaganda program.

They began to talk about democracy as soon as Pakistan was established. All politicians began to teach each other the importance of democracy; and the people who raise cries against dictatorship are usually the ones secretly supportive of it. Behind the facade of this democracy, the newspaper and television also became victims of dictatorial policies. Pakistani television provided real news about the country in the beginning, and the people believed the news that was broadcast on television. During the last few years, though, television has become the property of dictatorial rulers. It has provided to the people only the news and information that the government has allowed. This deprived them of real news and true information. As a result, in order to learn about the truth, we have to depend on foreign sources. These foreign sources, including the BBC and All India Radio, have been propagandizing against Pakistan since its establishment. India has not only refused to recognize Pakistan since its establishment, but India's central leadership also believed that this country would not exist after a few years. Since then, India has used its communications media against Pakistan. For this purpose, All India Radio offers all-request programs three times daily. These programs have local and foreign popular songs. In between these songs, Pakistan's internal and foreign affairs are criticized under the guise of news commentaries. If there is an internal affair, then it is also criticized and is usually presented in an exaggerated manner. It is our misfortune that, even though we know well that this propaganda is against Pakistan's ideology, we do not stop depending on this foreign news media for information about the news in our country.

Why do we depend on foreign news media for our national news? Among various reasons, there is one that is very important. The Pakistani news media, while it presents the foreign news accurately, is dependent on government policy for circulating national news. At

times, the situation is so bad that even if there are murders and deaths in a place, Pakistan television announces that all is well.

Pakistani television has become such a toy in the hands of the government that it only presents the side of the picture that the government favors. Various documentary films were produced to inform the people about industrial and scientific progress that the country is making. During Zia-ul-Haq's period, these documentary films were also changed. They were not used to inform about industries, but to give a bad name to the opposition. However, destroying a democratic government and forcibly establishing martial law on the people, and later using television to remove people's faith in political parties just to keep the dictatorship alive will never be looked upon favorably in history.

Now that we have a democratic government that makes claims to democracy all the time and raises slogans about the people's freedom, television has still not rid itself of dictatorial control. The news segments on television are still the government's own stories. The people who want to learn about the situation on our country still depend on the BBC and All India Radio.

Whenever we think of a democratic country, we think of the government and the opposition. It is the job of the opposition to identify the government's mistakes. In Pakistan, however, the government and the opposition, instead of identifying the mistakes made by one another, depend on character assassinations. At times, they use such petty reasons for attacking each other that we are shocked.

There is no doubt that any party has the full freedom of protecting its government. But it would be great if this independence were used with some ethical restriction. A domestic quarrel should be handled within the four walls of the house. If Pakistani television and the newspapers are freed of this dictatorial control, it would improve everything. Pakistani television should provide news in our country honestly; then the people will stop depending on foreign news media for it. The time and money spent by the government on blackening the name of the opposition should be used against the enemies of Islam. That would help Pakistan emerge as a more important country in the Islamic world. The minds of the people in government are considered to be superior to those of the average people. They have a better ability to think than average people. Therefore, the government should know that television propaganda is not affecting the people very much. Instead, respect for the government is decreasing. Every Pakistani citizen is aware of the reality behind Pakistani television's news and documentary programs.

Gilgit, Baltistan Said Ignored by Government

93AS0309B Karachi AKHBAR-E-JEHAN in Urdu
23 Nov 92 p 12

[Article by Khawaja Abdul Rashid: "Deprivation Feelings on the Increase in Gilgit and Baltistan"]

[Text] The demand to bring Gilgit and Baltistan under the jurisdiction of Azad Kashmir is increasing again because of the question of basic human rights there. Recently, Sardar Ateeq Ahmed Khan, son of Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan, Azad Kashmir's chief minister, and the chairman of the government-appointed Monitoring and Implementation Commission, visited the northern region with a delegation. Because of this trip, people in the northern region are once again feeling how deprived they are. There is no regular government in the northern region. The Federal Ministry for Kashmir Affairs is responsible for administering this region. For a long time, the frontier crimes regulation was implemented in this region. At present, the legal system is limited to a judicial commissioner's appointment. The administrator there has the right to take back any case that is being tried in the courts. He can also nullify a court decision. There is a 12-member council whose members are elected; however, it does not have any authority. For a while, the residents of the northern region wanted to establish a separate government and join the Federal Government so that they could become a state. However, they have started to demand that the northern region be conditionally annexed into Azad Kashmir. The Azad Kashmir High Court and Supreme Court would be responsible for the northern region. It would be given 40-percent representation in the Azad Kashmir government. While addressing a reception given in his honor by the Gilgit municipal committee, Sardar Ateeq Ahmed Khan shared some fundamental facts. He said that this region was changing very rapidly, and that we cannot ignore this area of 28,000 square miles. The future of this region's people will be decided upon their historical relations. Any time a decision is made about the northern region, we cannot ignore historical and geographical relations. The people of Azad Kashmir and the northern region have a historical relationship that can be reinstated and strengthened. The northern region has been part of Jammu and Kashmir. In 1947, the people freed this region under the leadership of Colonel Mirza Hussan Khan. At that time, the maharajah of Kashmir appointed Ghansara Singh governor of Gilgit. The mujaheddin arrested him, and Ghansara Singh was later sent to India in exchange for H. Khursheed. The administration of Gilgit and Baltistan was with the government of Azad Kashmir until 1949. Because of the specific situation of that time, difficulty in transportation, and the limited resources of Azad Kashmir's government, the administration of this region was temporarily transferred to the Government of Pakistan. This agreement was signed by Azad Kashmir's then-president, Mohammed Abraham Khan; Chowdhury Ghulam Abbas, chief of the Muslim Conference; and Nawab Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani, minister without portfolio of

Pakistan's Government. Now that the government of Azad Kashmir has better resources—transportation has improved, and in addition, a legislative assembly, high court, and supreme court are present in Azad Kashmir—we should respect the wishes of the people in the northern region and let them join the Azad Kashmir government. They will be able to make progress that way. The Ministry of Kashmir Affairs is opposed to it. Its strongest argument is that this region is very important in the Silk Road and Siachen Glacier's defense position. We can respond to this argument by making this specific arrangement defend the Silk Road. The fact is that the whole Azad Kashmir region has the same kind of defense importance. We cannot deny its importance, keeping in mind the campaign for the independence of Kashmir. The components of the administrative system of Azad Kashmir of which the people in the northern regions want to be a part are the democratic, administrative, and legal systems. It is obvious that administrative control of Azad Kashmir's government will be limited to these areas. The Azad Kashmir government has offered the young people of the northern region employment in government departments and admission to educational institutions. It has started to implement this plan. This has resulted in positive development in the region. It is expected that the government will soon be able to respect the wishes of the people in this region and, in light of historical relations, help them realize their wishes.

Government Accused of Neglecting Northern Areas

93AS0313J Lahore *THE NATION* in English 15 Dec 92
p 11

[Article by Aziz Ud-Din Ahmad: "The Long-Neglected Northern Areas"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The people of Northern Areas fought a heroic war in 1947 against the Dogra forces of the Kashmir Darbar and liberated their motherland. They later on voluntarily acceded to Pakistan. Their struggle is a heroic saga of fearlessness in the face of heavy odds with undaunted courage. A handful of freedom-fighters consisting of irregular militiamen and former Muslim soldiers of the Jammu and Kashmir army, equipped mostly with weapons captured from the enemy, liberated almost 60,000 square kilometres of territory inclusive of Kargil and Dras and the entire area up to the Zojila Pass, the gateway to the Valley of Kashmir. Kargil, Dras and Zojila Pass had eventually to be abandoned in the face of heavy bombardment by Indian Air Force [IAF] as the freedom-fighters did not have any air cover.

These courageous people living in what is called the Northern Areas of Pakistan continue to remain disenfranchised even today. They are neither represented in the National Assembly nor the Senate. As they have neither been integrated into Azad Kashmir nor given a provincial status, they do not have a Provincial Assembly of their own. For over a quarter of a century

they continued to be governed in the style of the British colonialists, with a political agent sent by the Government of Pakistan, who ruled with the help of the black laws called FCR [expansion not given].

The Northern Areas today comprise five districts—Gilgit, Baltistan, Diamir, Gurez and Ghanche. The total population exceeds 12 lakh. A Northern Areas Council is elected every five years with four representatives from each district to serve as an advisory body to the Chief Commissioner, Northern Areas. There is no high court in the Areas. Justice is dispensed mainly by the administration as there is no judicial official here above a Sessions Judge. The final authority in respect of appeals is the Chief Commissioner.

Every Council member gets a development fund these days of Rs [Rupees] 10 lakh, which means 40 lakh rupees for a district. Not a big amount in any way.

The list of the grievances of these brave people who made great sacrifices for joining Pakistan is long. Backwardness has been imposed upon them in all possible fields. There is no university, no medical or engineering college and no polytechnic institute in the area. The local schools are affiliated to the far off Board of Secondary Education in Rawalpindi. For higher education the students have to travel to Lahore, Karachi or other big cities of Pakistan. Not to speak of the poorer sections of society, higher education is thus beyond the reach of even a middle class student. Out of the five district headquarters, three do not have degree colleges. So even college education is often out of the reach of the common man's children.

There is no industry throughout the Northern Areas. This is in spite of the fact that the area has enough fruit that could have been canned and exported. Marble is also being mined and sent outside in raw form. Land can employ only a portion of the population. A few get jobs in the army and the rest have to go out of the area to distant parts of the country in search of menial jobs. Unemployment is on the increase due to there being no industrialisation in the area.

The people of the Northern Areas belong to three sects of Islam: the Sunnis, the Shias and the Ismailis. Due to lack of education in the area, sectarianism rules supreme. During the Zia regime, it assumed unprecedented proportions here as in the rest of the country. Many people think it was foreign to the people here and was inspired from above as the population in the Northern Areas is generally gentle, friendly, and peace loving.

Sectarianism has affected development. The Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, for instance, which has done good work in many parts of the Northern Areas has failed to make headway in the Sunni areas of Diamir because of this. The people of the district would not like their area to be developed with what they regard as money coming from the spiritual leader of a rival sect.

The development of the area is not possible unless people are associated with the work which can take place only in a democratic polity. What is, therefore, urgently needed in the Northern Areas in the introduction of the same representative system as is being practised in the rest of the country rather than "rule" through bureaucracy. There is a popular demand that the area should be given a provincial status and made the fifth province of the country.

A section of the Kashmiri nationalists regards the Areas as a part of the Jammu and Kashmir state. The claim is based on history as the Northern Areas were a part of the Kashmir state at the time of the partition of India. There are, however, different interpretations of how the areas came to be a part of the state when it was sold out by the British to Maharajah Gulab Singh in the last century as a result of the Treaty of Amritsar. A school of thought among historians believes the Areas were not originally meant to be made a part of the Dogra state and that it was through under-hand methods that the Dogras acquired them.

The real thing to see is whether the people of the area actually want to join the state or not. The whole area is ethnically and linguistically different from the rest of the Kashmir state. The Maharajah of Kashmir could never rule the area peacefully and there were many rebellions against him and his forces were defeated quite a few times by local rajas like the legendary figure Bohar Aman, the ruler of Yasin. It would not serve the Kashmiri cause if nationalities unwilling to join Kashmir are forced to be integrated into it. A people that seek freedom for themselves will do no good if they insist upon subjugating others.

The will of the people of Northern Areas should, therefore, be known through a referendum on whether they want to have a separate province of their own or they want to join Azad Kashmir. The matter must be decided soon so that the people of the Northern Areas can elect their representatives on the basis of adult franchise and send them to an Assembly that they can call their own.

An argument advanced for keeping the *status quo* is that the status of the Northern Areas should remain as it is for they will be able to participate in a plebiscite, to which Pakistan is committed, only if they remain in their present position. The question is how long will they have to wait for the plebiscite to take place? Suppose it does not take place for another fifty years as it has not for the last forty-five years. Will the people of the Northern Areas continue to be deprived of their political rights all that long. And what difference will it make if they are made a province of Pakistan? If Held Kashmir, with its status as a state of India, is allowed to participate in a future plebiscite, nobody would be able to stop Northern Areas from voting in it.

There is, therefore, no political or moral justification to deprive a whole people of their basic rights as we are doing today in the case of the Northern Areas. As there

have been unrepresentative governments ruling most of the time in Pakistan, and they belonged either to the civil or the military bureaucracy, they failed to understand the need to give the people of the Northern Areas their political rights. There is no reason why the present government, which is both civilian and elected, should follow in the footsteps of its undemocratic forerunners.

The Northern Areas are a strategically important part of Pakistan. To allow disaffection to spread among the people living there is in no way to the benefit of the country. The area, therefore, needs immediate political reforms.

The misfortune with the rulers in Pakistan is that they never address themselves to a problem when it is at an initial stage and can be resolved with ease. They continue to ignore it till it becomes complicated and acute and assumes proportions difficult to control. They would not supply an aspirin when the body politic needs no more than that. It is when the malady transforms itself into something horrendous that they agree to offer the aspirin which is no more of any use.

The situation in the Northern Areas is still under control, but it may not remain so if no reforms are undertaken. It was possible to deny people their rights and still control their loyalty sometime in the past. But it is no more so. People now know through the modern satellite communications system what is happening all over the world. They are influenced by the good things that they see in other countries and want to possess them. Democracy is one of these things. The world is passing through a period when democratic rights are generally accepted to be the birthright of all people. Those in the Northern Areas are also fast coming to understand this. You just cannot stop them from agitating for their rights by imposing Section 144, which the administration is so very fond of.

Opportunity for Reconciliation Seen for IJI, PPP

93AS0313C Lahore THE NATION in English 8 Dec 92
p 7

[Article by Azia-Ud-Din Ahmad: "IJI-PDA: Another Opportunity for Rapprochement"]

[Text] In his first public statement since the government-
Opposition confrontation began, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan firmly rejected the insinuation that the Opposition's long march had his blessings and ruled out any possibility of his intervention as a mediator to persuade the two sides for a dialogue. He went even further saying the Opposition's march was not in conformity with the Constitution and that Parliament was the right forum to raise and debate issues which prompted the Opposition to resort to "such tactics." He did not agree with the suggestion that the government had overreacted to the Opposition's long march and said the government's response had helped to protect public life and property by taking adequate measures.

The President has thus belied the expectations of a number of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and NDA [National Democratic Alliance] leaders who were waiting for an in-house change in the government consequent to the long march. Those of them who had already distributed various ministerial portfolios among themselves would have been disappointed by the pronouncement which must serve as a dampener for these gentlemen and their credulous followers. The long match activity will have to be slackened now for a while.

The President, it seems, has decided to maintain good relations with the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] in view of the forthcoming Presidential elections. For him an understanding with Nawaz Sharif provides better chances of re-election than one with the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance]. As far as the NDA is concerned, it can hardly be of much use to him in the near future.

The ministerial appointments in Sindh also convey the same message: the old understanding must continue and that the PDA must be kept out of the corridors of power.

The situation presents not only a breather for the Nawaz Sharif government but also an opportunity to reevaluate its policies towards the Opposition. Two years have passed since the IJI took over and some of the most pressing problems faced by the country still remain unattended. The foremost problem is that of corruption that has engulfed the whole society. This problem can only be tackled by a government that is not only strong but also has good working relations with the Opposition.

The MNAs [members of National Assembly] and MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] are corrupt. They could have been controlled if the government did not fear they would gang up with the Opposition if attempts to discipline them were to be made. The bureaucracy gets its share in corruption as it helps the legislators get plots, bank loans and other facilities illegally at the behest of the higher-ups. Again it cannot be controlled unless the legislator who is allowed a free hand in order to stop him from changing loyalties is curbed. Lesson: in order to control bureaucratic corruption an understanding with the Opposition is indispensable.

Corruption has become a part of the election process. Corrupt elements in society, smugglers and drug pushers are given party tickets by both the IJI and the PDA. Only they can meet the prohibitive election expenses and donate huge funds to these parties. Their entry in politics can only be stopped if a limit on election expenses is not only fixed but is also observed by contending candidates and their parties. Again this cannot be done unless the ruling party and the Opposition have an understanding and some sort of working relationship.

The Eighth Amendment hangs like the Sword of Damocles over every government that is elected. It is both in the interest of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir if it is suitably amended, if not altogether dispensed with. There can be no stable government in the country as long as the Amendment exists. For this they must collaborate and

not look towards the President as an ally. A situation of perpetual warfare between the ruling party and the Opposition can only strengthen the President, as it has recently done.

Movements to overthrow a government are launched by an Opposition driven to desperation, in collaboration with unprincipled elements, agents of powers that do not wish democracy to flourish in the country, and narrow-minded and bigoted religious groups. They are thus forced to include unrealistic demands in their manifestoes and encourage sycophancy.

It was because of this that both the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] had to depend upon the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement], while their leadership was well aware of the fascist and criminal activities of this organisation. They had both vied with each other to gain the support of the MQM while putting larger national interests on the backburner.

Narrow minded, sectarian and bigoted religious groups and parties thrive on the life and death struggle that the Opposition is forced to launch against the ruling party in Pakistan. Anjuman Sipah-e-Sahaba, Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadis, Jamiat-al-Mashiakh, Hizb-e-Jihad and even Jama'at-i-Islami have gained strength and assumed a position from where they can blackmail, due to this unnatural struggle starting when the ruling party refuses to show any quarter to the Opposition, which in return declares a holy war against the rulers. Without joining united fronts, these minuscule parties would soon be out of parliamentary politics.

There is every possibility that the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] which has so far taken to the streets on its own, might in the next bout seek the support of both the NDA and the JUI-JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam—Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan] alliance. It might have to forgo some of its programme and orientation as a concession to its retrogressive allies, for whom issues like human rights, pollution, or equality for women are either foreign or an anathema. Consequently even if it wins the next battle against the IJI the victory may not be worth the price.

There is, therefore, a need on the part of the IJI not to feel jubilant over the recent stance of the President vis-a-vis the PDA. It is a time when a mature attitude on the part Nawaz Sharif could bring the PDA to the table. This is an opportunity which must not be lost by the ruling party. Agreed that there is a hawkish lobby within the cabinet as well as within the IB [Intelligence Bureau] which must be feeling elated at the statement of the President and advising the Prime Minister to continue the policy of no dialogue with the PDA, but it is now that the statesmanship of the IJI leadership, particularly the Prime Minister, will be put to test.

The tenor of the speeches being delivered by the Prime Minister in public meetings arranged to offset the impact of the long march indicates there is little possibility he

would try to come to terms with the Opposition. In his speech delivered at the Shahpur public meeting the Prime Minister dubbed the Opposition as enemies of Pakistan and put the rhetorical question: "How can we shake hands with those who want to disintegrate Pakistan only to grab power?" He even went a step further when he declared that the disintegrators of Pakistan are the country's enemies and "if I reconcile with them, curse be upon me." These kinds of harangues are in no way conducive to an understanding between the PDA and the IJI Government. They can only increase the already existing rancour between the two sides.

The way some of the PDA leaders were treated in police custody during the long march arrests must have been dictated by the shortsightedness induced by dependence on the intelligence department that has been the hallmark of the present regime. Nawaz Sharif has the longest experience of association with the government in one capacity or the other and if he cannot exhibit independent thinking even now and must tow the I.B. line then only God can help him.

A couple of Federal Ministers have in the meanwhile hoped that negotiations with the PDA could be held. They have later on expressed disappointment on the precondition imposed by the PDA, stipulating that the government discuss the dates for the new elections as number one item on the agenda for any proposed talks.

The insistence on the part of the PDA to discuss election dates could be overcome by the creation of an atmosphere conducive to meaningful talks. The government side alone could do this. This kind of atmosphere can be created by calling back the references against Benazir and other PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leaders, release of Asif Zardari and an understanding with the PPP regarding the governance of the province of Sindh. The government is very well aware of the motivation behind involving the PPP in references and Zardari in various cases. The sooner it shows sense to remedy the ill done to the PPP, the better it would be for the cause of democracy in this country. The provincial government in Sindh too would have been constituted by the PPP if Jam Sadiq Ali had not been given a free hand by the Centre to go to any extreme to destroy the PPP majority in the province. It is necessary that all this is remedied in the interest of the country.

Torture of Political Activists Claimed

93AS0264C Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 1 Dec 92 p 1

[Article by Imdad Chandio: "Sindh High Court Orders End to Torture of Political Activists"]

[Text] Karachi—A division bench of Sindh High court on Monday ordered the government to produce Ibrahim Sohu, a Jeay Sindh Taraqqi Passand Party leader, before the court on December 3. According to a constitutional petition, Sohu was taken away from the Central Jail here on November 3 and was being subjected to severe torture by the investigation team of the law enforcement agencies.

The petition came up for hearing before the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Nasir Aslam Zahid and Mr. Justice Shaukat Hussain. The defence counsel for Sohu, who has been facing criminal charges in a special court for the suppression of terrorist activities, submitted that the detenu after being shifted from the jail was being continuously tortured by certain investigation agencies and marks of violence on his body could be found.

The court, while asking the additional advocate general for an immediate medical examination of Sohu, also ordered the SHO [Station House Officer] New Town police station to produce the detenu before the court on Thursday.

The same bench, while hearing a petition of similar nature filed by the mother of another detenu Dr Abdullah Jokhio, against his shifting from jail on November 3, held that he would not be taken by the investigation agencies without the consent of the trial court in future.

Dr Jokhio, a post-graduate student serving as honorary registrar at the Jinnah Post-Graduate Medical Center (JPMC), was caught by the Tipu Sultan police station under car lifting charges.

Dr Jokhio, who was produced before the court Monday, narrated his tale of woe during the interrogation at the hands of certain law enforcement agencies including police. The court observed that no detenu be taken by the agencies from judicial custody unless the concerned trial court permitted. The court held that the detenu may not be shifted from jail on seeking remands or orders from the district magistrate or SDM [Sub-District Magistrate].

Jokhio, while talking to THE FRONTIER POST in the premises of the court, complained that certain parts of the back of his left palm and back of left thighs had been benumbed following the torturous interrogation he had to face at the Gulzar Hijri police station. "We even feel insecure in jail," he added.

The division bench was also informed that the Jeay Sindh Mahaz leader, Abdul Wahid Areesar and Jeay Sindh Taraqi Passand Party leader, Dr Ghansham Parkash had been arrested under the official secrets act 1923, pertaining to armed forces and were under military custody subject to army act 1952 under section 2(1)(D).

Children's Story Writer Facing Death Penalty

93AS0265F New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English
15 Nov 92 p 125

[Article by Shekhar Gupta: "Akhter Hameed Khan: A Victim of the Ferment"; italicized words and quotation marks as published]

[Text] The liberal movement in Pakistan could hardly have found a more suitable mascot. Recipient of the Magsaysay Award (1961) and Sitara-e-Jurat, one of Pakistan's highest national awards, and darling of the western media, for 13 years, Akhter Hameed Khan has been working relentlessly in the Orangi slum, inhabited by over a million people, setting up schools and digging drains. His reward, a court case which, if it ends in conviction, could bring the minimum penalty of death sentence. Also *fatwas* from sundry maulvis and an open call from the fundamentalist ASS [Anjuman Sipah Sahaba] for his public beheading. His crime: writing an offending nursery rhyme.

Khana wrote an allegory for children, called *Ahmad aur Sher (The Idiot and the Lion)* published by Oxford University Press (OUP) as a small comic book. It is the story of an idiot who finds a lion cub, feeds it, falls in love with it, gives it the keys to his house, and the name of Sher-i-Khuda. But ultimately the lion eats up the idiot and takes over the house. "It is an allegory on the Muslim worship of militarism," Khan explains. But mullahs obviously are not pleased and have latched on to the phrase Sher-i-Khuda. It was a title the Prophet had given his cousin and son-in-law Hazrat Ali. The rhyme, the mullahs say, is an insult. Both Khan and OUP were prompt in apologising. OUP withdrew all copies of the book and pasted on an amended text, replacing Sher-i-Khuda with Sheron ka Sher (The Lion among the Lions). But it was too late.

Section 295C of the Pakistani Penal Code provides a death penalty for *tauhin-i-rasalat (insult to the Prophet)* and the maulvis have filed a case against Khan under this law. Khan now spends much time shuttling between court and home and although the human rights and liberal legal organisations have risen to his defence and even the Government is letting him continue with his work in Orangi, he has a feeling of living on borrowed time.

Yet, he retains his equanimity. He had been selected for the ICS [Indian Civil Service] in 1938 but quit in 1945, sick of the elitism. For two years he tried to work as a labourer and a locksmith to 'de-educate' himself. Unable to 'buy books' with his meagre earnings, he returned to teach at Delhi's Jamia Millia. At various points of his chequered life, he has been branded a communist or a dervish. Khan claims he is not irreligious. "I am not anti-religion, like Salman Rushdie. Stupid man," he says. "I am a Sufi. Like Gandhi or Buddha. Not ritualistic, but not irreligious either." Khan blames his own predicament on the ferment in the Islamic world. "The Bengal zamindar used the court as a weapon to control

people. The mullah uses religion. But times have changed," he says. Have they, indeed?

Mullahs Said Winning Battle for 'Soul' of Nation

93AS0314D Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 3 Dec 92 pp 10-11

[Article by S.U. Kaul: "The Battle for the Soul of Pakistan"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] There are vague stirrings in the media and among the westernised people of Pakistan that the Muslim clergy is becoming too influential. "It is time for us to do something," they whisper. Little groups are springing up wondering what they can do to stop this avalanche of religious intolerance.

Intolerance in our society is nothing new. We are a patriarchal society where the head of the family has all the answers. He lays down the law; his orders have to be obeyed by wife and children. Various social and religious mores have been built up ostracising anyone who disagrees with his elders, especially the father. There is no democracy taught in the home; blind obedience is still the order of the day. Any questioning of the father's orders is met with caning and pious sermons about one's duty towards one's parents.

When a child goes to school, the same societal mores are built up around the teacher. A teacher may be bad, he must be respected. A teacher may teach nothing, he must be respected. A teacher may teach wrongly, he must be respected. Any questioning of the teacher's authority is met with caning and pious sermons about one's duty towards one's teachers.

Thus is laid the framework of all the worst aspects of our society. Bigotry, intolerance, violence, sycophancy and a hankering for martial law. In this situation the mullah, with his long beard, becomes the symbol of fatherhood who preaches at us when we are grownup. He stands in his pulpit and puts the fear of Allah into us; in the villages and towns in really graphic language; language that cannot be used in decent society. Invariably the sermon is violent; the emphasis is on fire and brimstone. Anyone who disagrees is a kaffir and his/her murder becomes a commendable act.

Calling this last "Islamic" is a travesty of justice. Allah, in His wisdom, has prescribed the death penalty for murder and for causing disorder. For there to be order, there has to be a government, a court of law, et cetera. If every tu'penny ha'penny mullah starts to declare someone a kaffir whose murder is commendable, where will be the order, so believed of Allah? Surely only a court of law is entitled to declare someone a kaffir? Surely only the duly appointed executioner is entitled to carry out the sentence of death? Surely any other method is tantamount to creating disorder? Therefore, a crime against Allah and His people?

Reverting to our original thesis, the mullah has placed himself in the position of being the patriarch in our society. He has made himself so powerful that he has been able to get the government to modify the national identity card so as to introduce a column for religion in it. This has been disapproved of by the moderate sections of the society largely on the grounds that the next step will be to put down whether the Muslim is a Shia or Wahabi; whether the Sunni is a Brelvi or a Deobandi. Creating divisions ad nauseam in a nation which has too many divisions already.

The mullah has subverted the law and law-enforcement to such an extent that a man like Akhtar Hameed Khan is being harassed by legal means and is being tried for insolence to the Holy Prophet (PBUH) [Peace Be Upon Him]. In any country he would have been lionised. He would, especially in his octogenarian years, be considered a national institution and be protected and cared for as if he was a king. Yet he is humiliated physically and intellectually in his days of physical ill health. He is not alone. Not long ago, the Father Teresa of Pakistan, Maulana Abdul Sattar Edhi, felt so harassed that he threatened to migrate to India.

There has been some hue and cry about Akhtar Hameed Khan's ill treatment. The response of the "moderates" has been, well moderate. One or two advertisements have been placed in the press asking for withdrawal of cases against him. Editorials have been written; some quite radical for they ask for suitable amendment of the relevant law. This is ridiculous; it indicates a certain thinning of their blood. One would have thought that the least demand would have been to try the man who brought these cases against Mr. Khan. Imprison him.

Let us get really angry and give him a hundred lashes. The officials who made Akhtar Hameed Khan suffer the indignity of going to the police station, should be sacked and then tried for harassment, wrongful arrest and quickly sent to jail for a longish prison sentence. Why are the moderates so damned moderate?

There is nothing moderate about the mullah. He revels in blood. He revels in cries of agony.

He revels in self righteousness. The mullahs are of two kinds; those who can be bought and those who cannot be bought. Both are equally menacing. Those who can be bought become instruments of violence for the vested interests. Those who cannot be bought become instruments of violence in their own right. A mullah has to be radical; if of the former class he cannot afford to displease his master; if of the latter, he really believes in what he says. Moderates cannot compete with that. Most of the time they are not sure anyway. They are used to the comfort of their air-conditioned drawing rooms and are incapable of suffering physical or mental hardship. To fight the mullah, one has to be prepared to suffer a lot of hardship.

It is perhaps too late anyhow. The battle for soul of Pakistan has been won by the mullah already, or very

nearly. A small group of moderates asked a minister of the government of Pakistan to come and address them on the subject of the scourge of the mullah. They chose this minister because in a few of his statements to the press he had attacked the Muslim clergy. The gentleman agreed but, come the day of his address, reneged on his promise on the flimsy excuse that he had been allied for a meeting with the prime minister. Why was he so afraid to come? Obviously he was got at and told to stop attacking the clergy. He has since not made any statements which the clergy may not like. Another minister made a statement against the clergy, but claimed the next day that he was misquoted. Our beloved governor too had to beat a hasty retreat.

Dr. Iqbal Ahmad mourned recently that "if moderate, thinking people do not intervene to stop the trend, it will devour us all." I am afraid the enemy is too strong and though the spirit of "moderate, thinking people" is strong the flesh is too weak. The battle for the soul of Pakistan is lost, or very nearly. Certainly it is too late to do anything about it. The sensible thing to do would be to stop shaving one's face and start shaving one's head. And wait.

Though the battle is lost, the war goes on. Look at Iran. Ayatollah Khomeini said to his people, "go forth and multiply." They did. Now this would've been fine if there was a secular government in Iran. Unfortunately for the clergy, they are also the rulers. They had to pay the piper. Multiplication cost the country dear and subsequently the Ayatollah's successors have started asking the people not to multiply quite so enthusiastically. They have been successful too. The birth rate has come down. The problem is that the children of that spurt of multiplication are just about to enter their productive years.

The moral is this: you reap what you sow. The ruling clergy of Iran caused its own problems of overpopulation and now they are having to pay the price for it. The Pakistani clergy does not care for the consequences of their acts because they do not have to pay the price for it; the people and the government have to do that. Let them become the rulers of Pakistan; that will teach them some sense. Let them come to power and they will legislate each other out of existence. Let them come to power and there will flow rivers of blood in our streets as we get inundated with "martyrs." These mullahs will finish each other off.

Then the moderates can stop shaving their heads and start shaving their faces and start the laborious task of picking up the pieces; of course, by then we will be a hundred years behind the rest of the world.

Christians Said 'Brutalized' By Increasing Fundamentalism

93AS0263F Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 25 Nov 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Christians Get Organised"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Punjab MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly] Mr. Johnson Michael has said in Faisalabad that a total of 29 MNA's [Member of National Assembly] and MPAs might resign from their seats to register protest against the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government's decision to add a religion column in the national ID card. This statement comes in the middle of a number of meetings organised by the Christian community to decide what they would do in the face of the ID card crisis. When the last batch of Christian politicians were elected under the separate electorate system, the community was not organised. The ID card quarrel has forced to analyse the gradual anti-Christian environment that has been created in Pakistan. This 'politicisation' of the community is putting pressure both on the Christian politicians and their ecclesiastical authority. One can therefore believe Mr. Michael that the Christian MPAs and MNAs might have to resign, and that leaders like J. Salik might have to get out of the National Assembly for real.

There is absolutely no truth in the case put forward by the government with regard to the change in ID cards to facilitate elections. There is also no truth in the government's defence that the actual thrust of the 'religion card' is against the Ahmedis. The Christians have seen that the

intensification of fundamentalism under the IJI, while persecuting the Ahmedis, has brutalised the Christians equally if not more. In the popular mind, which is poisoned with prejudice and bigotry, the Christian is equated with the enemies of the state. When the Babri mosque was attacked in India, it was the Christian churches that were burned down in Pakistan. When the 'insult' laws were enforced, it was not the Shias who became targets but the Christians. A judge in Sargodha reflected this anti-Christian feeling by handing out the death sentence to a Christian under 'insult' laws despite lack of evidence against him. The 'religion' card is definitely not meant for a five-yearly exercise under the separate electorate, when fake cards are issued by the million, it is meant for day-to-day discrimination and persecution of the Christian community. The Christians must get organised if they have to assert their credentials as a Pakistani community that has been gradually relegated to the status of third-rate citizens. It is only after that the Muslim majority that is opposed to the 'religion card' will come to their help. As long as the Christian MNAs and MPAs think more of 'loyalty' than the rights of their own community, their constituency will remain powerless. Democracy requires the legal and constitutional assertion of rights of all communities.

China Urged To Open Markets To Reduce Trade Deficit*93AS0264F Lahore THE NATION in English
23 Nov 92 p 2*

[Editorial: "Pak-China Trade Ties"]

[Text] Federal Finance Minister, Sartaj Aziz, on his return from China, where he attended the eighth session of the Pakistan-China Joint Economic Committee, has stated that both the countries have agreed to reduce the existing trade imbalance in favor of China. The trade deficit of Pakistan with China is currently estimated at 350 million dollars. The question now is to identify the products which can be sold to China, over and above our existing exports, valued at approximately 200 million dollars as a first step to eliminating the deficit. If China does not increase its exports and maintains them at 1991-92 level of 450 million dollars per annum then the trade deficit of Pakistan will be reduced to 150 million dollars. The list of items that Pakistan can export to China is not difficult to identify either and, as per recommendations of the Pakistanis, constitutes products like cotton and related products, fish and preparations, fruits and vegetables, ships and boats, leather products, timber, steel scrap, computer software, etc. China's commitment to the development of Pakistan cannot be debated. Existing joint ventures in crucial industries preclude any doubts. However, what is of relevance is China's ability to finance imports from Pakistan. Or, in other words its economic health.

China's most favored nation status with its biggest trading partner, i.e., the United States, is under threat with the election of Bill Clinton as the President. The new Hong Kong Governor Chris Patten's views on reform are being dismissed by senior Chinese officials and the confrontation between the two sides seems to be escalating. This bodes ill for China in terms of earning foreign exchange through higher exports to the West. Besides, so far, China is not at par with the advanced countries of the world either in terms of technology or, indeed, economic wealth. Given this background one can appreciate China's commitment to lower its trade surplus with Pakistan all the more. And yet such a commitment may be difficult for China to honor if it cannot open new markets for its products while ensuring that its existing markets remain.

Privatization Policy Supported, Praised*93AS0265D Lahore THE NATION (Supplement)
in English 24 Nov 92 p 1*

[Article by Arif Nizami: "Benefits of Privatisation"]

[Text] The privatisation statistics of the Allied Bank prove conclusively that a personal commitment of that vital input of a bank, human resource, can make a tremendous impact on profitability and, indeed, by logical extension, on the macro-economic picture of the

country. To mention just a few momentous achievements of the Allied Bank a mere one year after it was sold by the government to its management and workers: industrial financing has risen by 506 percent; pre-tax profits have increased by 268 percent; there has been a growth in foreign currency deposits estimated at 85 percent; deposits have been boosted by 46 percent; imports and exports together have received a boost of 40 percent; the number of account holders has augmented by 13 percent; advances have jumped by 31 percent; and home remittances have risen by 59 percent.

The privatisation as a policy brings untold benefits to economy needs no elaboration. Its basic premise, proved time and again in as diverse economies as that of Britain, where it is popularly known as Thatcherism, Russia, and China, adopting it as part of their essential transition from Communism to capitalism, and in Pakistan, as the commitment made by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to the nation, is that private sector activity, with its underlying principle of profit maximisation, is capable of turning a floundering public-owned corporation around. Hence from the government point of view, there ceases to be a need to prop up the company, through large annual budgetary allocations, and, consequently, more money is available for social sector development. The privatised company benefits through raising its profitability, which, in turn, raises the Gross National Product [GNP] of the country. The government benefits by not having to meet the company's losses. And the common man benefits since the government has more money to invest in his welfare.

But there are several pitfalls to be avoided in the way of a successful privatisation policy. Like other policies, its success or failure depends on its methodology and on the perception of the people about its efficacy. It is the perception of the people about the fairness of a methodology that forms the basis of support or the lack of it for any government policy. Few in this country do not support privatisation as a policy. And at the same time few in this country perceive that this policy is being administered fairly. And the cause for this lack of faith in the basic economic policy thrust of our government devolves around the powers allocated to the Privatisation Commission. They can, for example, reject the highest bidder without giving a reason. They can reject a bidder on the basis of their rather arbitrary ability to judge his capacity to run the company effectively. And, of more recent vintage is the rule which takes away the right from an unsuccessful bidder to challenge the Commission's decision in a court of law, as all bidders for the UBL [expansion not given] were made to sign a statement disallowing them this right. There are exceptions where purchase by the management and the workers has been given preference, like the Allied Bank. But when the highest bidder is rejected on an evaluation of his ability by bureaucrats, suspicion rears its ugly head.

Criticism of the hurried pace of privatisation adopted by our government has also been made by international agencies. They claim, and quite justifiably, that there is

not enough capital in our domestic market for undertaking privatisation at the speed favoured by the Commission. And they have been proved right by the inability of the government to get its lowest stated price for some companies it intended to sell. The government is selling already profitable companies in the public sector, whereas there are no buyers for the less profitable or sick units. This could lead to a paradoxical situation where the state will have to spend more to subsidise a sick public sector rather than the other way around. Furthermore, by encouraging private investment in the government's largely consumer industries that are targeted for privatisation, our government is guilty of promoting the existing production base which is of low value-added products and whose prices in the international market place are steadily declining.

It is important for the government to effect structural changes in Pakistan's production base and move away from consumer to capital goods industries. The achievement of this goal requires a slower pace of privatisation, so that all private investment is not caught up in purchasing public companies and more incentives have to be given for establishing capital industries which take a longer time for returns to the original investment than consumer industries do.

Public perception, the all-important economic barometer, does not favour the privatisation methodology. And no government can afford to ignore investor perceptions, as recessions and stock market crashes can be the root-cause of these perceptions. It is recommended that the government does away with the closed bid approach and, instead, utilises the stock markets of the country to effect its privatisation policy. The already rich will no doubt get the bulk of the shares and the controlling interest, but it would at least give the perception that the sale is above board and a poor man can purchase as many shares as he wishes to. This is of vital importance to the success of the privatisation policy in Pakistan.

Another charge normally levelled against the methodology of privatisation of the present government is that, as a conscious or unconscious policy thrust, it is concentrating wealth in the hands of a few. This is indeed a very serious allegation and if true, would negate the basic benefits that are deemed to accrue from such a policy, i.e., higher output, higher disposal income and dissemination of wealth. Privatisation's main plus point is not the fact that the government would no longer have to support the losses of its companies, thereby increasing its revenue, but that it would, through market forces, bring products to the public in an efficient manner; and through competition ensure a fair price, competition as defined as a situation where the number of sellers are large enough not to have an inordinate control over a large part of market share and consequently on price. Hence price must be controlled by market forces and not by a single seller or a handful of sellers who can, and will, collude to set the price higher than the market rate. Pakistan, unfortunately, has no anti-monopoly laws, deemed of vital importance in the West as a means for

ensuring consumer rights. Thus it becomes all the more incumbent on the Privatisation Commission to ensure that it is not creating a monopoly or at best, oligopolistic situation. It is essential, therefore, for the government to clearly enunciate effective anti-monopoly laws, commonly known as anti-trust laws in America. Merely charging the Privatisation Commission with the responsibility of ensuring that it does not sell the bulk of its shares in different factories manufacturing an identical product to one seller would not really produce results, since it has no way of checking the real bidders if the bidder wishes to remain anonymous. And all the more caution must be exercised while privatising financial institutions like banks, insurance companies, etc., because of the obvious clout it gives to one business house over others.

The methodology of privatisation does need several amendments, unless we want to repeat the notorious era of the so-called 22 families.

Money for Population Control Said Misused, Stolen

93AS0264G Lahore *THE NATION* in English
21 Nov 92 p 6

[Article by Amina Jilani: "Our Reproductive Culture"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Those few organizations and individuals who have over the past years pleaded with the various autocratic governments inflicted upon the Land of the Pure for the preservation of the Houbara Bustard have got nowhere. To our men in authority, the single-minded pelf and power brokers, the extinction or survival of a species (other than their own) makes no odds. So what if one species is exterminated? And they ask, horribly sanctimoniously, how can anyone concern themselves with a bird's death when human lives are at stake? Well, human lives will always be at stake, but there is no species on earth other than man himself who can cause the extinction of the human race. He can do it either by polluting the environment to such an extent that neither he nor any other form of animal life can exist, or by blowing himself up with his own nuclear devices. It is not the Houbara, nor any other animal species, that can go about exterminating homo sapiens. The sad truth is that animals are all innocent while human beings "have the devil in the corner of their souls".

One thing for sure is that the human species in the Islamic Republic is reproducing itself at such a rate that it may soon secure the irreversible ruination of the land created for it. Our hefty team at Rio pledged, with hand on heart, not only to preserve the Republic's wildlife and environment but to do their best to dampen the population explosion, but we have yet to evidence any deeds to match their words. The government, from top to bottom, sporadically makes noises about how our population will be our downfall but they do not do a thing about it.

On November 8, eight members of the Senate supported a motion that called upon the government, forever entangled in its own frivolous back-biting, to do something about the explosive increase in its population, a major cause of illiteracy, lawlessness, unemployment, rootlessness, corruption and whatever other ills beset us. Senator Behrawar Saeed rightly attacked the Ministry of Population Welfare (the ridiculous euphemism 'welfare' should go; it must revert to 'Population Planning and Control' and live up to its name). Funds were wither disappearing or being misused, little work (none positive) was being done and instead of controlling the birth rate "the government was decontrolling". A total sham indeed; the government on the one hand accepts substantial aid from abroad to deal with family planning and on the other hand kowtows, for its own cowardly reasons, to the obscurantist ignoramuses who propagate the theory that to control population is anti-whatever it is they believe in.

Reportedly, over the past 26 years Pakistan has spent just under Rs [Rupees] 5 billion on restraining a population which is increasing geometrically at a record-breaking rate. Where has the Rs 5 billion gone? Whom has it enriched?

Two news items in an Islamabad newspaper earlier this month throw some light on how a few millions have taken the wrong road. A contract worth Rs 40 million was awarded for the import of audio-visual photography and printing equipment for the Ministry that has the people's 'welfare' at heart. Not only were kickbacks of a couple of million rupees paid to assorted Ministry officials, but the equipment itself disappeared into thin air. Apparently, some sort of an enquiry was instigated in 1990 by the Ministry Secretary, but it was hindered and finally terminated through the machinations of Ministry and FIA [Federal Investigation Agency] officials who, it is rumored, had contacts right in the heart of things, in the PM's [Prime Minister] very own secretariat.

Another story goes that the suspect was involved in the import in 1990-91 of Rs 25 million worth of injectable contraceptives. A one-man purchasing committee was appointed, in violation of all rules and regulations, and payolas included, Rs 25 million was spent on substandard unusable contraceptives that have since been dumped at a Ministry warehouse in Karachi. Meanwhile, confusion reigns in the Ministry, as it does in the rest of the country. They are short of contraceptives and don't know what to do about it. Not, we suppose, that they really care one way or another.

When Pakistan started off there were 30 million mouths to feed, minds to educate, bodies to shelter, clothe and provide with employment. There are now, though the figure may be unreliable as with all else in our lives, some 115 millions. Our past three governments have, in their wisdom, deemed that a census is unnecessary, or inexpedient, so upon what statistics can we place any reliance? How can our population increase stay static for ten years at 3.2 percent per year? Does anyone in their right

mind accept that. A more realistic figure of 3.7 percent is occasionally mooted, but even that may be an understatement.

The 'reward' and the 'stick' systems have both been recommended to deal with an illiterate and unmotivated population reproducing itself unthinkingly. Let us propose that two-child families will be given guarantees, such as free health facilities, free education facilities and some sort of pension scheme; a three-child family would get less, subsidies as opposed to freebies. Or, we do as the Chinese, our brothers, do. We punish those who exceed the two-child family rule, and we punish them severely.

Pakistan tops the world population growth chart; its international fame rests upon its ability to reproduce itself, its drug and Kalashnikov culture, its potential for international illegalities such as the violation of immigration laws, the inept smuggling of drugs and even on occasions the shoplifting of mass-produced knickers. Control the expansion of our millions—and preserve the Houbara Bustard from a shameful extinction—and we may control the spread of our universal rotten reputation.

Government Statistics on Income Claimed Misleading

93AS0313D Lahore THE NATION in English 5 Dec 92
p 6

[Editorial: "Are We Richer?"]

[Text] The President of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Mian Habibullah has stated that the country's per capita income has increased by a relatively phenomenal 14.3 percent, rising from Rs [Rupees] 8,097 in 1989-90 to Rs 9,256 in 1990-91 and a further 12.9 percent or Rs 10,446 in 1991-92. He attributed this to the success of the present economic policies of liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation. If one were to go by these impressive figures, one would be happily led to believe that Pakistan has indeed entered the take-off stage in development, to use Rostow's growth terminology, and perhaps we actually may be regarded as a middle income country in the very near future.

Reality, however, may be something quite different. Comparing the figures given in the Economic Survey of 1991-92, it does not require much expertise to suspect that there may be an element of statistical jugglery involved. According to this survey, the revised per capita income for 1990-91 was Rs 8,269 and the projected amount was Rs 9,188. From where did the Chamber President get his figures, is not clear. More importantly, who could have given such statistics to him when official estimates are not due till the year after the current fiscal year? Also, per capita statistics are no barometer of the concentration of wealth, and given that aim, there has obviously been little, if any distribution of wealth and income in the economy to the low income group. We are still a poor country and the lot of the poor, despite noble

claims to the contrary, has not been improved by any yardstick. Again, our population has soared at the rate of 3.1 percent and it would therefore require a willing suspension of disbelief to accept Mr. Habibullah's thesis on the betterment of the masses. Instead of latching onto half-truths, the powers-that-be should come to grips with reality and focus on the have-nots, since no advance can really be made in any sphere of the economy until and unless the problem of poverty is tackled in all its aspects.

Government Accused of 'Trickle-Down' Economics

93AS03131 Lahore *THE NATION* in English 12 Dec 92
p 6

[Article by Anjum Ibrahim: "Trickle Down Theory Fails in Practice"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] In a recent one-day seminar held in Islamabad titled: "The State of the World Rural Poverty," the President of IFAD [International Fund for Agricultural Development], Idris Jazairy, has stated that the trickle down theory of development has failed to alleviate the lot of the poor. This conclusion was based on three other observations made by him during this address at the seminar, namely, that the trickle down experience and its corresponding policies have shown overall growth of the economy to be disappointing, that its effects on the poor have been imperceptible, and, that the poor are efficient users of resources and must form the backbone of any growth policy not just the second or third tier of beneficiaries as envisaged in the trickle down theory.

The trickle down theory has been quite popular in Third World countries committed to the alleviation of large poverty pockets in their midst and in attaining the ultimate goal of a poor nation: to reach the stage of developmental take-off when it will be able to stand in line with the rich countries of the world. And the theory envisages certain policy measures designed to effect growth through greater private sector participation. The rationale is that with growth in output greater employment opportunities would be assured, more goods on the market, higher sales, a buoyant economy hand in hand with alleviation of poverty through a trickle down effect. Thus the assertion of IFAD President that the trickle down theory does not imply a high growth rate or, indeed, lead to alleviation of poverty is a matter of serious concern for policy makers in the Third World countries in general.

The present IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government in Pakistan too has subscribed to the trickle down theory. And the proof of this assertion lies in its policy of privatisation, its industrial incentive policy and its existing tariff structure. The privatisation policy, according to the Chairman of the Privatisation Commission, Saeed Qadir, will make the rich richer. And for those who might be arguing that eventually the rich will redistribute wealth through savings and consumption the arguments presented by Mr. Jazairy clearly indicate that this might just be a pipe dream. Besides, one can argue

that few of the rich in this country save domestically. And considering that the government has allowed legal transfer of foreign currency abroad it has only facilitated capital flight as few are likely to save in a currency which has been declining in value vis a vis major currencies of the world since 1982 and also because there is still little confidence in the continuation of such economic policies in Pakistan. And as far as consumption patterns of the rich are concerned it is evident that firstly their tendency to spend a percentage of each rupee earned declines as their total wealth increases, and secondly that their purchase of luxury items, consisting of the bulk of their consumption, benefits other rich manufacturers or importers. Thus if the savings of the rich are not channeled back into the economy and if their consumption declines as their income rises then the assertions made by the President of IFAD make intrinsic sense from the Pakistani perspective.

But what about the recognised economic argument that growth is an alternative to poverty and that both are mutually exclusive. According to Mr. Jazairy, experience shows that 'poverty alleviation can be a basis for growth. Poverty alleviation is at the heart of economic development and that the rural poor are not the problem but the solution.' And this is so because the rural poor make more efficient use of resources than say, the rich landlords. An excellent example of the rural poor making more efficient use of resources as quoted by Mr. Jazairy can be found in the loan recovery performance of Grameen Bank of Bangladesh, which lends to the poor and has a recovery rate of 97 to 100 percent. And an excellent example of the rich landlords not making the optimum use of resources can be found in Pakistan where one bank alone namely the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan, is owed more than 16 billion rupees. Needless to say its defaulters are the rich landlords. Once again one can only nod agreement with the statement of Mr. Jazairy.

One supposes that our rich landlords can argue that it is they who grow the bulk of the farm output in this country and that is because their yield per hectare is substantially higher than the national average. This is certainly true but one can visualise by how much the farm output of the country would be augmented if it was the poor getting loans instead of the rich. Mr. Jazairy also stated that credit institutions lend more to the rich as opposed to well off farmers and technical services too are geared towards the better-off. And his conclusion "such policies perpetuate rural poverty instead of reducing it" does not seem a revelation as the Pakistani public is acutely aware of this trend in the rural set-up.

To promote the rural poor Mr. Jazairy was of the view that subsidies and incentives are inadequate as these are hijacked by the well-off. Pakistan's case shows that this is an incisive comment as interest-free loans meant specifically for poor farmers during the Premiership of Mr. Junejo were hijacked by the rich landlords. What is required, he says, is to help the rural poor to 'develop a viable and responsive set of agricultural institutions

within the policy framework of an equitable macro-economic policy...experience further showed that the sustainable institutions and the services among the poor require a different type of organisation, like the ancient community set-up.'

One cannot but endorse the views expressed by Mr. Jazairy, based on research by IFAD officials, that it is the poor who must be the engine of growth instead of the rich. And it is indeed gratifying that it is not merely social justice which prompted him but research, which forced him to challenge the efficacy and validity of the trickle down theory. It is essential to remember that Mr. Jazairy's views, even though expressed within the context of the agricultural sector, are equally valid for the industrial sector. The consumption and saving patterns

of the rich industrialists are similar to their counterparts in the agricultural sector. And more output in industry has not implied more jobs on the market for the simple reason that machinery is preferred to labour in this country. And this trend is encouraged by the government's incentive policy for machinery import. Thus the entire industrial labor force as a percentage of the total labour force has not increased for the past decade or so in Pakistan.

One would hope that the government of Pakistan abandons reliance on the trickle down theory. And by cutting subsidies and incentives utilised mainly by the rich, saves its own money for investment in social sector development, in providing clean drinking water to the masses, and in trying to meet the energy shortfall.

Army Capabilities, Training Profiled

93AS0263E Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
25 Nov 92 p 21

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Pakistan Army: A Profile"]

[Text] The Pakistan Army is the most important of the three services that comprise the country's armed forces, and it is also an important component of the Pakistani power structure given the fact that 24 years out of Pakistan's 45 years as an independent state have been spent under military rule, with three out of the seven Army Chiefs also serving as Presidents of Pakistan.

The Army has a strength of some 450,000 out of which approximately 20,000 are Commissioned Officers with 3,000 in the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and above, while the rest, nearly 17,000 are officers of the rank of Major and below. Approximately, 70 percent of the country's annual defence budget of \$3.1 billion is spent on the Pakistan Army.

The General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Army are located in Rawalpindi, which is about 10 miles off Islamabad, the country's capital, where the Chief of Army Staff, General Asif Nawaz sits. A Sandhurst-trained infantry officer, General Asif Nawaz has the reputation of being a "no-nonsense" professional who has put in 38 years of service as a Commissioned Officer. He is assisted at the GHQ by the Chief of General Staff plus a number of Principal Staff Officers, all of whom are three star generals. These include the Master General of Ordinance, the Quarter Master General, Adjutant General, Inspector General Evaluation and Training and the Military Secretary. The only other four-star general in Pakistan is General Shamim Alam Khan who is Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee.

At the field level, the Pakistan Army is spread out into approximately 20 Divisions, including 2 Armoured Divisions, which are grouped under 9 different Corps Headquarters, all of which are headed by Corps Commanders of the rank of Lieutenant General. These Corps Headquarters are located at:

- I Corps (Mangla)
- II Corps (Multan)
- IV Corps (Lahore)
- V Corps (Karachi)
- X Corps (Rawalpindi)
- XI Corps (Peshawar)
- XII Corps (Quetta)
- XXX Corps (Gujranwala)
- XXXI Corps (Bahawalpur)

The Pakistan Army has approximately 90 General Officers, including 70 or so Major Generals and some 20 Lieutenant General. Every year, in late April, a high-level Promotion Board, presided over by the COAS [Chief of Army Staff], sits at the GHQ to review personnel appointments, promotions and retirements.

In the context of Pakistan, the Army sees itself having a twofold role: defending the country's borders from external threats and guarding national security from internal disorder. As far as the first aspect is concerned, the Pakistan Army was engaged with the Indian Army in three major wars in 1948, 1965 and 1971, two minor wars, again with India, in April 1965 over a disputed terrain in Pakistan's south called the Rann of Kutch and in Autumn 1987 over Siachen Glacier, reputed to be the world's highest battle ground. On at least two occasions, the Armies of Pakistan and India nearly came to blows in an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation: in January 1987 when India was conducting "Exercise Brasstacks," South Asia's largest ever military manoeuvres, and in May 1990, over the uprising in Kashmir.

In the context of its domestic role, the Army sees itself as a sort of "guardian of the family silver," viewing national security as its turf. Often, it has been asked at the behest of civilian governments to play a role in containing internal unrest including country insurgency operations. This was evident in erstwhile East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, in 1971, in the province of Balochistan during 1973-1977 and currently in the troubled southern province of Sind which borders India.

Forty-five years after Pakistan's emergence as a sovereign state, while the Pakistan Army is aware of its colonial inheritance as an offshoot of the British Imperial Army, increasingly the Pakistan Army today, in terms of self-image, sees itself as an indigenous, Islamic, nationalist and middle-class institution. This self-image is buttressed by three key developments, particularly in the last decade, which have helped to reshape the Pakistan Army as a professional institution and to contribute to its recovery from the 1971 defeat by India, when 90,000 troops of the Pakistan Army surrendered to the Indian Army in the December 1971 war which was a catalyst for the creation of Bangladesh.

First, a number of factors have contributed to inculcating greater self-confidence in the Pakistan Army. These include the absence of a two-front situation with the western front being defused after the indication of a Pakistan-backed Mujahideen government in neighbouring Afghanistan following a protracted civil war and resistance to Russian occupation, in which Pakistan was the conduit for supplying approximately \$2.1 billion of covert American military aid to the Afghan Mujahideen. This change in Afghanistan has been reinforced by the break-up of the Soviet Union—India's best friend—and the emergence of sovereign Muslim Republics in Central Asia, who have teamed up with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey in the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO).

This change in Afghanistan also helped in putting a large amount of reserves at the disposal of the Pakistan Army, a factor which has been significant in neutralising the otherwise Indian numerical superiority in ground forces. Pakistan, for instance, has 10 Divisions in reserves,

including 8 Infantry Divisions plus 2 Armoured Divisions. These large reserves ensure that Pakistan today is better equipped to fight both offensive and defensive battles. Conversely, India, with its 34 Divisions, has 18 Divisions deployed on the borders with Pakistan, China and Bangladesh, while 16 Divisions are in reserve, out of which approximately 8-10 Divisions are deployed in counter-insurgency operations in Kashmir, Punjab and Assam. The operating assumption today in Pakistan that the Indian Army is no longer capable of launching a ground offensive against Pakistan, primarily on account of its lack of reserves since such a large segment of the Indian Army is deployed in internal security operations and that too in those areas, particularly Occupied Kashmir and Punjab, which have been traditional battlegrounds with Pakistan.

The second element which has been important for the Pakistan Army in recent years is the new doctrine of "offensive-defence" which was tested during the Pakistan Army's biggest-ever manoeuvres during late 1989 code-named "Exercise Zarbe Momin." Under this strategic concept, the Pakistan Army is viewed as a force capable of undertaking a strategic offensive on the land, including the possibility of taking the war into enemy territory, rather than waiting to be hit as was the case during the 1965 and 1971 wars. In such a scenario, the Pakistan Air Force and Pakistan Navy are seen as being capable of fighting essentially defensive battles in the air and the sea, while the Army undertakes an offensive on the ground. During the 1980s, the Pakistan Army carried out a number of studies revising and testing various war plans.

In this context, the role of General (Retd) Mirza Aslam Beg, the Army's Chief till his retirement in August 1991 has been important since he played a key role in giving new concepts and testing new plans during his tenure both as Chief of General Staff (CGS) during 1980-85 and from 1987 onwards till 1991, when he was serving as a four-star General at GHQ. He was also the architect of the Army's policy of "glasnost," which helped open up Pakistan's closed institution to the media through frequent seminars, briefings and exchanges in which a large number of journalists were invited to interact with Army Officers at various levels. This process helped in the rehabilitation of the Pakistan Army, particularly after the death of General Ziaul Haq, who was General Beg's predecessor, and the person who presided over Pakistan's longest-ever as well as highly unpopular Martial Law.

That the Pakistan Army today is in better shape than before is evident from the fact that it has 45 days of reserve ammunition and fuel in its stocks as compared to the 1965 war, when it only had 13 days of ammunition and fuel in reserve or the 1971 war, when such stocks in reserve were available for only 9 days. The Pakistan Army will have its first Mechanised Infantry Division by the end of 1993, and it plans to add another Mechanised Infantry Division by the end of 1994. And the strength of the Army has also been beefed up by the induction of an

Independent Armoured Brigade, which had been stationed during 1983-87 in Saudi Arabia, and which, upon its return to Pakistan, has been integrated into the army.

Supplementing the role of the Pakistan Army and working in close cooperation are the approximately 80,000 para-military forces officers, but under the direct operational control of the Ministry of Interior. These para-military forces are known as the Mehran Force in Sind, numbering 24,000 troops, the Frontier Corps in Balochistan and the North-West Frontier Province respectively, with a total strength of approximately 45,000, while in the province of the Punjab, this 16,000 strong force goes by the name of the Pakistan Rangers. The provincial chiefs of these para-military forces are usually of the rank of a Major-General, while these forces are divided into different sectors, having a number of "wings" under them, each "wing" totalling 800 men.

The third new element in the reshaping of the Pakistan Army is the stress on professional education, training and career planning. The Pakistan Army has 13 institutions of training, ranging from Pakistan Military Academy (PMA), the National Defence College, the Command and Staff College, the Military College, the School of Intelligence and the School of Mountain Warriors. The Army has a six-monthly induction system into its Officers Corps, with approximately 250 cadets chosen for training at the PMA out of some 10,000 applicants.

In recent years, the Army has also been laying stress on religious education and this has now become part of the curricula at the PMA and for promotional exams from Lieutenant to Captain and Captain to Major. A Directorate of Religious Instruction also functions for this purpose. About 200 officers from the Pakistan Army are sent annually to foreign countries for training, with 70 percent going to the United States, mostly under the U.S.-funded International Military Education Training (IMET) Programme. There is also now greater stress on education and while the Pakistan Army had only one Ph.D in 1986, today it has 27 Ph.Ds and 500 M.Sc.s. The Army also has plans to establish an Army University of Science and Technology incorporating the existing institutions like the Military College of Engineering, the Military College of Signals and the Electrical and Mechanical Engineering College.

The Army has a huge welfare programme run through organisations like the Army Welfare Trust and the Fauji Foundation, who spend approximately \$30 million annually for the welfare of troops, retired soldiers and stipends to students. This fund also supports approximately 36,000 Army widows and 7,000 invalids, and there is the standard policy since 1989 of granting a free house from the army to an Officer's family, should he die in service.

The other institutions that are run by the Army include work in such diverse areas as the National Logistics Cell, which has tankers for trucking food and other goods across the country, the Frontier Works Organisation

which is an engineering organisation that helped build the Karakoram Highways with the Chinese, the Special Communications Organisation, which runs communication networks in remote parts of Pakistan, and the all-important Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) which is headed by a serving Lieutenant General of the Pakistan Army, and which was instrumental along with the CIA in resisting Russian occupation in Afghanistan. This organisation also serves as the "eyes and ears" of the government. The ISI apart, the Army also has a Military Intelligence Directorate operating out of GHQ, which is headed by a Major General.

In terms of linkages with foreign armies, the Pakistan Army has had a special relationship with the Pentagon dating back to the Cold War years when Pakistan was an American ally, a relationship reinforced in the last decade when, courtesy Afghanistan, the Army was again the recipient of American military aid worth approximately \$3 billion. And in the last 25 years or so, the Pakistan Army has also built an intimate rapport with the Chinese Peoples Liberation Army, which has also now become a major source of the Army's weaponry. Linkages with the Armed Forces of Iran, Turkey and Bangladesh—key Muslim allies of Pakistan—remain strong, and recently, in October, in an attempt to diversify its sources of arms supplies following the American arms cut, the first military delegation to visit Moscow in 22 years was sent, which included representatives from all the three services.

Indigenous Capability in Tank Manufacture Claimed

93AS0306A NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 30 Nov 92 p 12

[Text] Islamabad (Correspondent): Pakistan has gained expertise in the construction, repair, and overhauling of tanks. With the help of the PRC [People's Republic of China], Pakistan is constructing the latest model main battle tanks, which will fulfill Pakistan's defense needs for the next 10 or 15 years. These facts were told on Saturday to the Senate Standing Committee for Defense Production during its tour of Heavy Industries Taxila [HIT]. The committee members were also informed that T-59, T-69, and U.S.-made tanks were being repaired and overhauled in Pakistan and that changes were also being made in the tanks in accordance with modern military needs. The Senate Standing Committee members were briefed in Taxila on tank and gun manufacture and the repair and alteration of other heavy weapons. This important briefing was conducted by the director general of Heavy Industries Taxila Lt. General Sayyed Tanveer Hussain Naqvi; the senate members were later given a tour of the Heavy Industries Taxila. The committee members included Senate Deputy Chairperson Nur Jahan Panizyi, Senator Sayyed Abbas Shah, Senator Lt. Gen. (retired) Saeed Qader, Senator Abdul Wahid, Secretary of the Senate Rahat Ullah Jeral and the Secretary of Defense Production.

Motives for Polish Tank Purchase Analyzed

BK1212100392 Islamabad THE NATION in English
12 Dec 92 pp 1, 2

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad—Following Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's decision to sanction the release of \$350 million in foreign exchange reserves by December 15 for the purchase of 300 Polish-built 172 tanks, political and business interests are jockeying for position in the commission sweep-stakes.

These money-motivated concerns came into action in September, following the provisional acceptance of a proposal from the Czech firm Plantronik for a \$386 million deal by the Finance Ministry on July 1. The Ministry approved the deal on the condition that the Army make the 10 percent down payment of \$39 million out of its existing budget. Subsequently, a Lahore-based businessman arrived on Sept 29 in Bratislava, the seat of government of the yet-to-be-born Republic of Slovakia, claiming to possess a letter from the Prime Minister's Secretariat. However, the proposals he is said to have forwarded to President Mecir and Prime Minister Chenak were not accepted.

The issue was further complicated by an amazing incident, in which a London-based businessman with strong Lahore connections arrived at the doorstep of Federal Minister for Defense Production Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani with a gentleman named Anton Rakicky, whom he introduced as the Slovak Minister for Foreign Trade. Claiming to be on an unofficial trip, Rakicky issued a hand-written invitation to Bijarani, asking him to visit Bratislava to review the original Czech proposal. Against the better advice of the Ministry of Defence, Bijarani wrote his acceptance of the invitation. A surprised Slovak government replied that it had issued no such invitation, nor had its Minister for Foreign Trade been on an unofficial visit to Pakistan. It was later discovered that Rakicky was a junior official of the Ministry masquerading as a Minister at the instigation of the London-based businessman. Rakicky was later sacked by the Slovak government.

Soon after this episode, the Pakistan Embassy in Prague started sending out worrying reports about the prospects of the divorce of Czechoslovakia into two states, scheduled for January 1. The Embassy said that the political instability of the new state of Slovakia made it inadvisable for Pakistan to negotiate for the purchase of the T72 tanks.

Meanwhile, another representative of the Lahore-based group made a trip to London, where he met the Director General of the Polish firm Bumar Labedy, Mr. Tadeusz Lisek. There had been two proposals from the Polish government. This of which was received in January 1992. [sentence as published] The first envisaged a \$413 million deal, which required Pakistan to make a 40 percent down payment, the balance to be paid by barter.

This was rejected as 'too expensive', so a second proposal was sent via the Polish Commercial Counsellor on July 9. This proposed a slightly smaller cash down payment of 30 percent, amounting to \$124 million, while an inflated annual interest rate of 15 percent was to be paid on the \$290 million commodity exchange agreement.

This had twice been rejected by the Ministry of Commerce because of IMF conditionalities that forbid barter arrangements which exceed 90 days in duration.

However, the Prime Minister decided at the Defence Committee of the Cabinet meeting on November 22 that it was willing to sanction the \$350 million required for a cash purchase of 300 T72 tanks. Subsequently, COAS [Chief of Army Staff] Gen Asif Nawaz was instructed to go to Poland for final negotiations.

These developments caused alarm bells to ring in Bratislava, which had planned to send a delegation led by Defence Minister Valdimar Krichko to Pakistan on December 5 for further negotiations on the proposal okayed by the Finance Ministry. The Pakistan government was asked to include Deputy Prime Minister Milau Knazko, who is also the Slovak Foreign Minister in the delegation. They further requested audiences with the President, Prime Minister, Defence Minister, Defence Production Minister and COAS. With Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif scheduled for trips to Dhaka, Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan and the COAS leaving for a tour of Poland, Switzerland and Saudi Arabia, dates for the visit are expected to be finalised for after December 18.

In the meanwhile, Russia had managed to keep its distance. Pakistan had been told that any arms sales were out of the question unless Pakistan proved its goodwill through significant diplomatic gestures. Top of the agenda, as far as Moscow was concerned, was the release of Soviet prisoners of war in Afghan custody. However, there was no question of a POWs for-arms deal as proposed by one Minister of State on the instigation of a Karachi-based trading house. The ice was broken during the visit of Secretary General Foreign Affairs Akram Zaki in late September. The Defence Production Division officials accompanying managed to get a tentative agreement for the supply of two Russian T72 tanks for summer trials, pending a political decision from the Kremlin. That is how things remained until December 5, the day Gen Asif Nawaz was leaving for Warsaw. Having learnt that the Pakistan government had decided to go for a cash purchase, the Russians suddenly invited Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Gen Asif Nawaz to Moscow, giving January 16-20 as the tentative dates for the visit.

This has thrown a massive spanner into the works. Both the Czech and Polish T72M1 models had passed the Army's tests and trials. However, the Russians are offering the T72S model, a superior and more expensive tank not exported before the collapse of the Soviet Union. This tank will have to go through the process of

summer trials before it can even be considered for induction. But worse, Moscow can veto any Polish sale of tanks to Pakistan because of two legal weapons in its armoury. The Poles are only licensed to reproduce the Russian tank, a right that can be rescinded. Further, the Russians can invoke the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty to limit the number of tanks Poland can export to Pakistan or anywhere else. The same would apply to the offer from the embryonic Slovak Republic, but it disowns the CFE treaty on the grounds that the Czechs were the signatories. Their delegation will be at pains to assure Pakistan that its original offer stands and that it has every intention of maintaining its arms industry because 800,000 Slovak workers are dependent on overseas weapons sales for their jobs.

There is no guarantee that Pakistan will be able to make a final decision on the purchase of T72 tanks from Eastern Europe after the Prime Minister's scheduled trip to Moscow. Powerful interests have been out to sabotage each other ever since Pakistan began serious consideration of the idea. Since the Indian Army inducted the Russian T72 main battle tank, Pakistan's ageing armoured corps has had little choice but to find a tank with the same 125 mm firepower.

But this process has been a drawn-out affair. The late Gen Ziaul Haq was killed in the notorious C-130 crash flying back from Bahawalpur after watching the state-of-the-art American M1A1 tank being put through its paces. His successor Gen Aslam Beg's preoccupation with Beijing meant that the East European and American options were ignored. Instead Pakistan signed a contract in 1989 for the procurement of 200 Chinese-built T-85s, a tank yet to be inducted into the People's Liberation Army which has a Czech-built 125 mm gun. This extraordinary degree of collaboration with the Chinese, however, did allow Beg to unveil his 'master plan' for the indigenously produced Al-Khalid MBT-2000 project.

However, the dismissal of the Benazir administration in 1990 introduced Pakistan to the harsh realities of the Pressler Amendment. The Army was no longer in a position to meet the scheduled July 1994 launch date for mass production of the Al-Khalid tank. With the growing strength of the Indian Armoured Corps, it was decided to establish contact with Czechoslovakia and Poland, both of which produce the 'monkey' version of the Soviet-designed T72 tank. In October 1990, an inspection team led by Maj Gen Mahmood Ali Durrani (currently POF [Pakistan Ordnance Factory] Chairman) led an inspection team to Prague and Warsaw to test the T72M1, as the 'monkey' version is called.

However, a lack of funds from the government and a lack of will from Gen Beg meant the project was held in abeyance until late 1991. Ever since, the whole episode has become a battle field for vested interests whose main concern is lining their own pockets, not consolidating the country's defence capabilities.

Asked to confirm whether the Prime Minister had sanctioned the release of \$350 million by December 15 for the purchase of Polish tanks, Secretary General Finance Saeed Qureshi said, "We never discuss defence procurement."

However, I am unaware of any such development." Secretary Defence Production F.I. Malik declined comment altogether. Army sources would only say that it would induct new tanks after the legal process of tenders, in which the lowest bidder would get the contract.

Efforts of Human Rights Group To Aid Victims Viewed

93AS0265B Lahore *THE NATION* (Supplement)
in English 24 Nov 92 p 14

[Article by Ayesha Mateen: "How Burney Trust Helps Victims"; quotation marks and italicized words as published]

[Text] Although the present government is not providing any of assistance to the work undertaken by Mr. Ansar Burney, Advocate and human rights activist, he remains optimistic about achieving his goals through self-help, public support and the will of God. His on-going projects include recovery of missing and kidnapped persons, aid, advice, release and rehabilitation of the unlawfully imprisoned in jails as well as in mental hospitals.

Mr. Burney, after his recent visits to France and Britain, will help free many innocent Pakistanis rotting in jails there. These people are mostly the victims of the machinations of their own countrymen.

Those agents who agree to send men abroad on the pretext of employment are actually informers of foreign governments. They get paid an additional percentage in dollars, apart from their regular salaries, for informing about any incoming heroin.

The unsuspecting and till then, grateful victims agree to take a 'small' gift to their benefactor's relatives abroad. This, later, proves to be their undoing. They are helpless to prove their innocence in an alien country, especially in the face of incriminating evidence.

Among his other projects, one which he intends to begin soon, concerns child labour. He feels that though a lot is said about child labour, not enough practical steps have been taken to provide a solution to the problem. In this connection Mr. Burney has plans of collecting these young workers and beggars and providing a brighter future for them as well as their families. He will house them under one roof, which will represent a home and not some characterless prison.

The children here will be fed, educated and taught some skill which will help them earn a respectable living in the future.

To deal with the problem the parents of such children will pose when part of their meagre income will be diminished. Burney plans to provide an exact amount to the families on a daily basis for the entire period the children are away from them.

The children will be able to meet their parents twice a week so that they keep in contact with their families and at the same time will be kept away from the environment that proved detrimental in the past. Though the operational details have been finalised, the financial side has still to be dealt with.

Talking about the increased cases of rape in the country Ansar Burney said that each case should be given equal importance irrespective of social station. He said that the Veena Hyat incident was horrifying, to say the least, but had an exemplary punishment been awarded in any of the rape cases committed so far, the situation would not have become so serious. He felt that various human rights groups in the country had not done enough to help the cause. Veena Hyat's position was different because her family had not deserted her, whereas other women undergoing the same cruelty were abandoned or disowned by families with nowhere to go. However, he intended studying the Hyat case since it appeared from the statements of politicians that one party was hiding the facts. He intended to get to the bottom of the matter. He hoped that the President, Ms Bhutto and Sardar Shaukat would give him access to clear the ambiguities, allegations, and counter-allegations that were clouding the issue. He also hoped to get a copy of the genuine FIR [First Information Report] so that he could discover who was wrong. It would then become imperative to remove that person/persons from the political scene, since he/she were not being honest to the public they claimed to represent.

The Ansar Burney Trust came into being in 1980. Since then Burney has helped secure the release of over 63,000 innocent men and women who have been unjustly locked up in prisons, in some cases for the mere reason that their name resembled the one mentioned in the FIR. There have been cases of children being born in jails legitimately or as the result of rape by the jail staff and spending the next 30-40 years there for no fault of their own. The general apathy of the prison authorities towards the plight of these unfortunate beings is classic. The authorities do not concern themselves with the physical or mental well-being of such persons.

That is left to people like Burney, who try their best first to get permission to visit these horrifying citadels and later fight their cases. Lately he has secured the release of Asma Shahid. Reportedly, this woman was sentenced to death in Turkey on the charge of smuggling heroin. She was in fact trapped by those who found her presence and claims of being filmstar Shahid's wife troublesome. They tricked her into going to Istanbul to become a filmstar. Later her death sentence was converted to a 25-year life imprisonment. However, now she is back in Pakistan due to Mr. Burney's efforts.

But the beauty she was once renowned for has deserted her and the situations she faced have taken their toll. Now she needs psychiatric help, for though she cannot recall what really happened to her, she talks of life as a Hollywood actress and the various celebrities she married. Nowadays she is in the Burney Trust Centre, from where she will soon be sent home as she gets better. At the Centre there are total of 28 persons of whom 25 are women and three children.

These are often run-away girls or recovered children who are temporarily housed here till they can be returned to

their respective families. Mr. Burney says that he is not in favour of keeping those who come for help or shelter permanently. He thinks it is better to persuade them to return home or find jobs. But, then this seems to work against him because people feel the greater the number of people you can show, the more successful you are. Correcting people under one roof is not Burney's idea of service. What people do not understand is that the guiding principle is to make people independent and capable of feuding for themselves.

So far, Mr. Burney has received 131 awards. Among them are the *Top Outstanding Young Persons of the World 1991*, *Man of the Year U.S.A.*, *Man of Achievement and Distinction 1991* and the most recent, *International Man of the Year U.K. 1991*. Surprisingly, so far, there has been none forthcoming from the Government of Pakistan. Mr. Burney has all those awards wrapped up in a cotton cloth and stored in a cupboard in his office. 'The greatest award is doing a job to the best of your ability and satisfaction,' he says.

But there is a section of our society which is more interested in knowing what car he drives than the work he does. "If they see me with a female in a public park, they will promptly assume that I am conducting an extra-marital affair. I invite these people to come and see me work, he said. These situations which are usually misconstrued are normally therapy for the person concerned and the results have nearly always been positive.

He criticised the television authorities for having stopped showing the Burney Trust telops of missing children in Karachi. Now they are to accommodate only their friends.

The Burney plan to build nurseries-cum-hostels for children living in jails has been delayed for lack of funds and government assistance.

What is needed is an environment which is congenial to work being done by the Burney Trust.

The prevalent attitude is one of not doing anything oneself and heaping criticism on any group which is trying.

If progress is to be our aim, it is necessary that such attitudes be changed. It is necessary that scandal mongers be discouraged. Political interest be put aside and wholehearted support be given to people of Burney's calibre.

Burney Trust Successful in Freeing Children From Jail

93AS0265C Lahore THE NATION in English
27 Nov 92 p 9

[Italicized words as published]

[Text] In just one month, the holy month of *Ramazan*, Ansar Burney Welfare Trust managed to secure the release of 10,000 helpless innocent persons, including

children, who were locked up in various jails without being convicted of any crime. And if Ansar Burney and his men had not gone to every jail and sub-jail in the holy lands of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, made lists of such people and got them freed, they would have been left rotting in prison for the rest of their lives. Ansar Burney told THE NATION that he managed to get these people out of jail by the cooperation of the High Courts of Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]. The Federal Interior Ministry, Provincial Home Departments, Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners were also of a great help.

Ten thousand innocent people including children languishing in jails and it was of no concern to our rulers. And this can happen in the reign of Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif who, if we are to believe some known figures who spoke at a seminar in Lahore last week, arranged by Altaf Hasan Qureshi's Pakistan Institute of National Affairs, is the one ruler Pakistan has been waiting for all these years. They greeted him with the title of *Mukhayyar-i-Islam (the great philanthropist of Islam)* among other slogans. In Mian Nawaz Sharif's rule, 10,000 innocent men, women and children were left in prison cells and no one was aware of, or trouble about their grim fate. Not even Altaf-Hasan Qureshi's PINA [expansion not given]. "What a country!" You cry out. Only Allah took pity on us and sent us Ansar Burney and Abdus Sattar Edhi. Let us pray that they create cadres who will keep their great missions going without having to resort to Long Marches or even short ones.

Fertility Rate, 6.5 Per Woman Said Among World's Highest

93AS0264E Lahore THE NATION in English
28 Nov 92 p 5

[Text] Karachi (PPI)—Pakistan has the 14th highest rate of population increase among countries with more than one million people.

Among the nine more populous countries in the World, only Nigeria has a comparatively high growth rate, and only Bangladesh, Japan and India are more densely settled.

Thus, territorially modest Pakistan—ranking 32nd in the world in land size—is expected to become the 9th most populous country by 1994, and the eighth by year 2010.

Put another way Pakistan covers only 0.67 percent of the world's land, contains 2 percent of the world's people, but in the next 10 years will account for 4 percent of world population growth.

This disproportionate contribution to global population growth is due to Pakistan's growth rate of 3.1 percent per annum.

The environmental consequences of such a rapid increase are pervasive, the sub-division of agricultural

landholding, the migration of villagers en masse from high mountain pastures to valleys and of young to the cities, the denudation of well-forested hillsides.

The nation's growth rate is largely an outcome of high and sustained levels of fertility (a crude birth rate over 40 per thousand) and rapid decline in mortality in the 1940s and 1950s following the introduction of antibiotics and various public health measures.

Though such interventions brought the crude death rate down from about 43 per thousand prior to 1941 to 23 per thousand in 1953-56 and to around 11 per thousand now, the crude birth rate has remained largely unchanged. The result was a national growth rate that leapt from 1.8 percent in 1941-51 to 3.0 percent in 1972-81.

Though crude death rates have been declining and life expectancy has been rising in the last few decades, infant and child mortality rates did not even begin to follow suit until recently.

The infant mortality rate even in 1988 was still about 107 per thousand live births. The result is that a substantial proportion of total deaths in Pakistan are of infants and children, according to an official study.

The causes of death continue to weight heavily towards infectious diseases, children in particular die largely from diseases due to unsanitary habits, bad water, and contaminated food.

Environmental factors are thus fairly important determinants of high levels of mortality overall. It has been argued that improvements in nutrition etc, could improve child survival, but the change would have only a limited impact if environmental conditions do not improve also.

In addition, education of parents, particularly mothers, has been found to be critical for improving chances of child survival.

In Pakistan, as in most countries, it has been found that children of women with even limited schooling have substantially higher chances of surviving than children of women without education.

The overall infant mortality rate, which is lower in urban than in rural areas, has been declining recently and the trend is expected to continue due to the expanded programme of immunization and the accelerated health programme.

Though difficult to support with hard evidence, it is expected that declines in infant and child mortality will induce some changes in fertility desires and behavior over time as parents will have less of a need to insure against child deaths.

Total fertility rates have not demonstrated much of a decline in recently decades, currently, the total fertility rate in Pakistan is about 6.5 children per women.

Although urban areas have the highest densities and although overall rates of urban growth have been substantially higher (at about 4.6 percent per annum over the last few decades) than rural rates, the growth is not just the outcome of immigration but it largely due to high rates of natural increase.

Pakistan's population is likely to exceed 200 million during the second decade of the 21st century. Given the current growth rate, that number will be reached by year 2010.

The current perspective plan uses a forecast of 200 million by year 2012-13, but a significant decline in fertility (reducing the total fertility rate to 4.35 by 200) could delay this benchmark until 2016.

Children Said Bought, Sold, Abused Near Afghan Border

93AS0313G Lahore *THE NATION* (Supplement)
in English 2 Dec 92 pp 28-29

[Article by Muhammad Abbas Zaidi: "Pakistani Women on Sale"; italicized and boldface words as published]

[Text] One might talk of expressions like "bulletproof" and "shockproof," the two terms found in the English lexicon. One can add something to the lexicon by describing our rulers and politicians: they are insult proof, common sense proof and shame proof, to name just a few "proofs." Their peculiar insulation is proved every now and then, but sometimes they give such an unparalleled display of their being what they are that the only terms in which their behaviour can be understood are the inhuman ones. This can be substantiated from the response given to a news item published in a section of the press a few days back.

The news report was about a man who managed to escape from a bonded labour camp in Afghanistan. Mohammad Riaz, the escapee, was kidnapped in childhood and transported to a bonded labour camp based in Afghanistan. The first thing that happened to him in the camp was that his legs were broken so that he could not escape. And he could not. It took him eleven years to break through his life of imprisonment and bonded labour thanks to a Pakistani convict who has been living in Afghanistan in order to avoid arrest by the Pakistani police. This columnist happened to talk to him. Some of the details (published in the press too) regarding the camp are:

i) There are a number of bonded labour camps in Afghanistan where Pakistani boys and girls are forced to live;

ii) These camps are not in any far-flung area; most of them are situated near Pakistan-Afghanistan border;

(iii) The camp in which Mohammad Riaz was put is called "Kala Pahar" or the Black Mountain. In that camp, at present, there are 60 Pakistani girls and 24 boys;

iv) The boys and girls are treated in different ways because the nature of their respective "work" differs. Boys are rendered deformed the day they are brought to the camp. The purpose of bringing them to the camp is to engage them in bonded labour like breaking of rocks. The food given to them is one bread and a cup of "kava" a day. On the contrary, the Pakistani girls are given a "better" treatment because they are made to do some other business: **PROSTITUTION**. Hence, they are given better food; and they are not made deformed physically. However, with 70 "security" guards with kalashnikovs in their hands, it is impossible for a girl to succeed in escaping. According to Mohammad Riaz, no girl has ever managed to return to Pakistan;

v) Almost every night, rich people from Pakistan and the Middle East countries appear at the "Kala Pahar" to have sex with the girls. In case they refuse, they are brutally beaten up. Or simply raped. And at times gang-raped. Generally these people are sadists as they treat these Pakistani girls in most inhuman ways like burning their bodies with cigarette and hitting them in sensitive places of the body;

vi) Once a month, the girls are put on auction. The place of the girls auctioned is taken by the newcomers;

vii) The "Kala Pahar" camp is situated at a three-hour-drive distance from Pakistan-Afghanistan border;

viii) After his escape, Mohammad Riaz met a number of Pakistani authorities, told them everything and offered them his services to locate "Kala Pahar" and other camps, but no one listened to him. Once he managed to meet one of the highest *de facto* authorities of Pakistan and requested him to do something about the situation. The answer given by the authority, according to Mohammad Riaz, was: "Don't bother yourself about the Pakistani boys and girls in the camp. You should be thankful to God that you are back in the country. Now forget about everything and mind your own business. And stop pestering people."

And this man is a very important political personality of Pakistan.

It is significant to note that despite the fact that the above story was published in a section of the Urdu press, that has a wider readership compared with the English press, not a single response has so far come from any quarter. This speaks of the importance given to the people in general. When such a horrible thing happens to the girls and boys of a country, it is the responsibility of every agency/organization/quarter of importance to try to do something about it. For example, any superior court could have taken notice of it *suo motto*. But that was not done. The Nawaz regime was busy crushing Long Marchers and his cabinet blokes professing, "We

have won the match against the opposition. Benazir, the self-styled "Daughter of the East" was busy Long-Marching against the Government. Probably, the "Daughter" never thought about her sisters of the "East." Even now if she decides to turn her long march towards "Kala Pahar" and other such camps, she will have the entire nation behind her. But she seems more interested in playing politics than pulling the miserable Pakistani girls from forced prostitution. And President Ishaq is "closely" watching the political situation of Pakistan.

A very significant aspect of this situation is that from whatever angle you look at it, you would find Muslims involved in it. The girls in the brothel-cum-camp are Muslims, and they belong to Pakistan that was "created in the name of Islam." The camp is run by a local *sardar* who is a Muslim. The people who rape them come from Muslim countries. And the people who are supposed to take an action against these criminals are also Muslim. An all-Muslim affair....

The "Kala-Pahar" symbolises the respect given to human rights in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Had such a brothel-cum-labour camp been run in a western country, the entire government in question would collapse. And here in Pakistan we say that the West is on the verge of destruction for its moral turpitude....

It is not just the "Kala Pahar" that calls for official and judicial attention. There are a number of such brothels and bonded labour camps in Afghanistan as well as in Pakistan. The only thing required is respect for the ordinary people of Pakistan on the part of the government. It is to their votes and money that all the political and non-political institutions owe their existence....

Till recently, Afghanistan was the hub of a *jihād* against the infidel, "communist" U.S.S.R. The entire non-socialist world (with Pakistan, the U.S. and the Middle East countries in the forefront) got together in order to restore the "Islamic identity" of Afghanistan. The *jihād* is over. The anti-Islam enemy is down and out and dead. Can we say that *now* Afghanistan is an Islamic country? Will Pakistan like to pull its own citizens out of forced prostitution? Or has our entire region become a heart of darkness? We, however, might discover a yet undiscovered dimension in the entire affair. Since we are developing into a society in which professionalism is respected, we have respect for every profession. Forced or otherwise, prostitution is also a profession. In fact it is the oldest profession on this planet....

Rape Cases Said Rapidly Increasing

93AS0264D Lahore THE NATION in English 1 Dec 92
p 1

[Editorial: "Excesses Against Women"]

[Text] The recent findings of War Against Rape (WAR) that over thirty cases of rape, abduction, murder and degradation of women were reported in Punjab alone

from August to mid-October this year, is indeed startling and horrific for even the most indifferent and insensitive among us. Most of these cases occurred in rural areas and the culprits were invariably the locally influential men. It was further revealed that reports were registered and investigations carried out at the behest of Judges of the High Court, although the culprits would often browbeat the victims and their families not to report these cases.

The harsh reality is that our society has fallen into the depths of degradation with the increase in rapes over the last few years. It simply reflects on the mind-set of our populace, reinforced of late by retrogressive social attitudes, which seem to have exacerbated an extremely negative attitude towards our womenfolk. "Male chauvinism" may be a catch-phrase readily applied by feminists, but this in fact describes accurately the pit in which we have fallen. Our social milieu is plagued by a sense of male superiority and misconceptions about the real worth and status of women. This goes against the very tenets of Islam, a faith which unquestionably gives a great deal of importance to the rights of women. Rape in our country is not only a law and order problem, in many cases the police themselves are guilty of this offence. Because of the social stigma involved, the victim or her family very rarely, if ever, report the case. There is a sense of utter helplessness and dejection on the part of the abused since there is an almost total absence of channels through which the culprits can be brought to book. The fact that the Prime Minister has visited the homes of some rape victims recently and stated categorically that the government is committed to protect the honor of women is indeed the beginning of a positive trend, but whether this will percolate to all levels of our society is open to question. It is of extreme importance that all of us shed our attitude of indifference and apathy to the problem, realize the gravity of the situation, and treat our women not as mere chattels but as human beings with fullfledged rights.

Dramatic Increase in Crimes Against Women Reported

93AS0314A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 3 Dec 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Crime Against Women"]

[Text] The crime against women, particularly sexual violence, is on the upswing. At least 30 women in Punjab alone have been either abducted, raped or murdered during the last two months. According to WAR (war against rape, a Lahore-based watchdog organisation), the police's inability to nab the culprits is among the key factors behind the dramatic increase in violence against women. In rural areas rape cases mostly involve powerful individuals: the instinct to dishonour women for settling feuds is now becoming increasingly evident. There could not have been a more damaging indictment against the Pakistani society. With police refusing to cooperate with the victims' families, only a handful cases come to light, and that is owed only to the efforts of some

high court judges. Only recently, the chief justice of the Lahore High Court had advised women against venturing out of their homes unaccompanied. The prime minister visited two families on Sunday in the remote areas of Punjab and Sindh, both have been traumatised with rape, one involving a six-year old child. Sunday's newspapers also carried a chilling account of the rape of a married woman in Lahore. Her nightmare lasted for two years until police found her, disoriented and her personality totally wrecked. Among other things, her head had been shaved off.

Pakistani women have long remained in the receiving end of all manner of injustices. But excesses during the last couple of years have been growing much too frequent and beastly. The prime minister has taken some time out of his busy schedule to be with the victims' families. This is a good gesture. However, sending criminals to speedy justice courts is only 10 percent of the job. The real solution lies in giving women equal rights. That means less talk of utopian, religious dispensations. Unfortunately, the political confrontation between the opposition and the government is leaving little time for urgently needed social agenda.

Rapists, Kidnappers Said Going Unpunished

93AS0313A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
11 Dec 92 p 9

[Article by Masud Ahmad: "Kidnappers, Rapists and Our Brave Police"]

[Text] Six persons in Sindh have been sentenced to death by a Special Court in Karachi. It also ordered the confiscation of all movable and immovable properties of the six convicts. Three cheers. No, six cheers, as six criminals have been taught a lesson. Yes, their wives and children also. The six criminals will be hanged and that will be the end of their tribulation. It would be their wives and children who will be facing life-long sufferings for no sin of their own. Can we feel sorry for them?

What was the crime of the six convicts? They had kidnapped a person for ransom. They demanded Rs [Rupees] 25 lakh but ultimately settled for Rs 2.5 lakhs and 50 yards of silk cloth, eight yards and 12 inches for each thug. The kidnapped person remained their "guest" for 10 or 11 days. We can imagine what agony his family would have gone through during those 10 or 11 days. The rogues certainly deserved severe punishment. But death sentence? And confiscation of all movable and immovable property?

Let us look at another case. Rahmat Shah Afridi from Tirah came to Peshawar where he was arrested by the police for vagrancy. It was Ansar Burney Welfare Trust who got him released—42 years, 10 months and 11 days later. Forty-two years, 10 months and 11 days is a long time. "How many billions are needed to compensate him?" asked A.M. Khokhar from Rawalpindi who related the story of Rahmat Shah Afridi in a letter to the

editor in an Islamabad newspaper a few months go. "And how many years in imprisonment for all the officials?"

No, Mr. Khokhar, no punishment whatsoever. And no compensation for Rahmat Shah Afridi. He was just a nobody. Yes. His whole life was wrecked by the callous indifference and criminal negligence of the officialdom. Keeping him locked up for no wrongdoing for 42 years, 10 months and 11 days. How many Rahmat Shahs have been rescued by Ansar Burney, and how many are still rotting in dark dungeons? And six men have been sentenced to death and their property confiscated for keeping a man, obviously a rich man, hence an important person, for 10 or 11 days in custody to extract money from him.

Listen to another story, that of young Irshad. He is picked up by Sheikhpura Police in an old theft case. He is brutally killed by the police who return his body later to his parents saying that he had committed suicide. It is only when the High Court intervenes that the ugly facts come out that he had been killed while in police custody. And no less than five police officers including an ASP [Assistant Superintendent of Police], two doctors and a judicial officer were implicated in committing or covering up the crime.

How many Irshads have been tortured to death by our custodians of the law, not just unlawfully detained and kept away from their families for a few days to extract money from them? None of them have ever been sentenced to death and their properties, movable and immovable, confiscated.

Read the reports of WAR (War Against Rape). The Karachi six who kidnapped a businessman for ransom have been condemned to death and their properties confiscated. The Depalpur six are roaming around free. These six men stripped a woman and her daughter and raped the girl in front of their menfolk. The mother died of shock. The daughter is still in the clutches of the six ghouls. They have not been sentenced to death. Their properties remain their properties. They did not kidnap for ransom. They only tore off the clothes of a mother and daughter in front of the male members of the family. The old woman could not take it. She passed away. Nothing odd about it. It had happened before, at least the rape part.

The son of a landlord of a village on the outskirts of Lahore tied up all male members of a peasant family and

with eight rogues he had brought with him, raped their womenfolk in their presence. The police refused even to register their report. This was in the days when Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif was the Chief Minister of Punjab. Again, during his rule the police raped poor women in front of their men in the Raiwind Police Station. At least in that case the Chief Minister ordered that a report of the heinous incident be submitted to him. The gang-rape of women labourers in the Mandi Bahauddin Police Station also hit headlines. Rapes in police stations are a matter of routine. That Aasiya Ayub case which got so much limelight. Torturing to death in police stations is a matter of routine. No death sentence or confiscation for property for such routine happenings. And six men have to die for kidnapping one man and keeping him away from his family for 10 or 11 days, claiming money for his release—2.5 lakhs plus 50 yards of silk cloth.

There is a visible dissonance in our juridical perceptions.

On the same page of a newspaper which carried the bold headline: "6 awarded death sentence for kidnapping for ransom," there was a long report of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif inaugurating a new annexe of Sindh High Court in which he pontified about the sublime traits of justice in an Islamic democracy. He said that justice should be prompt, within the reach of every citizen and totally blind to the status of the party to a dispute. He also recounted some inspiring attributes of justice that should be the hallmarks of an Islamic society that we claim to be. But look at the laws that we make—death for six persons for kidnapping one man and extracting money from his family; no punishments whatsoever for gang-rapes with the family forced to watch the loathsome scene.

Those who are kidnapped for ransom are rich, hence sacrosanct.

Those whose womenfolk are gang-raped are poor. They have to take what fate and our society inflicts upon them.

Tailpiece: WAR has expressed concern over the alarming increase in rape, abduction and degradation of women in Punjab, over 30 cases were reported in just eight weeks. Very unfortunate, being raped in Punjab. If they had been raped in Sindh at least they would have been visited by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif who would have shown sympathy to them in all sincerity and offered them big cheques as compensation and the whole emotional scene highlighted in the prime time of Pakistan Television.